

UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



The design principles of traditional urban cores in Iran:
A case study of *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, *Sanandaj*

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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In the name of God

The design principles of traditional urban cores in Iran: A case study of *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, *Sanandaj*

Abstract

Urban and architectural artefacts of the traditional environment can be seen as important imprints of human activity which have evolved over many centuries according to strong socio-cultural and environmental rationalities. This means that the morphology and spatial patterns of traditional cities have gradually developed to satisfy the cultural needs of their populations and, at the same time, to respond to their surrounding environment. This defines the man-made environment as the content of meaning, especially when it is considered in its mutual relationships with the surrounding environment and in the context of history, because man tends to dwell when he can experience the environment as meaningful. The traditional urban cores are considered here as the materialised form of human thoughts, skills and resources which created functional, meaningful and identifiable spaces in relation to society, time and place.

This research focus on the traditional Islamic-Iranian-Kurdish city of *Sanandaj* situated within the majestic mountain range of *Zâgros* in the west of Iran, the birth place of Kurdish culture. At the macro-level of investigation, the thesis analyses the setting, historical formation and morphology of the city as a whole as part of an investigation of the socio-spatial qualities of its spaces and places, and a deeper understanding of how its built environment has responded to the physical environment and changing socio-political circumstances. Within the city of *Sanandaj*, the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* (representative of the city's quarters) is selected for further micro-level analysis of place structure in respect to the social dimensions of the place. At this level, the realms of public/semi-public/private domains are analysed to make clear the interplay between these spheres which shaped the city and organized the society, as leading points to an understanding of the shaping design principles of the city in respect of Kurdish culture. As much of the literature concerning the Islamic/Iranian cities tends to focus on the male domain and taking into account that women in Kurdish society have a distinctive role, in this research, the woman's domain is highlighted and the main points are organised in line with the role of women in the social life of the selected quarter.

Within studies of Islamic/Iranian cities, little attention has been paid to the concept of Kurdish cities. For this reason, this research opens up this concept by adopting an interpretive-historical research to make clear the features of the built form which are particular characteristics of the place concerning the Kurdish habits and traditions. Various approaches to traditional built form are reviewed to pave the way for a methodological inquiry within which multiple methods are employed i.e. archive and historical document analysis, interviews, observation and photographic surveys. The data generated through the fieldwork comprises old photos, aerial photos taken at different times, sequence maps, private and public archives (transcripts, family chronology and travellers descriptions), historical books, interviews and large numbers of analytical diagrams.

The findings are the shaping design principles which characterise the urban character of the selected Kurdish city as distinguished from other Islamic-Iranian cities, as a basis for further research in the realm of Kurdish understanding of built form. Within this specific context, the study has tried to uncover the process of city formation to explain how urban form in a particular context responded to the environmental and socio-political determinants of time. At the same time, it has tried to understand the nature of Kurdish settlements by paying attention to the points of similarity and difference within the Islamic and Iranian contexts. Apart from these points, some of the findings concerning the design principles of the city were recognised as indigenous rules embedded in the structure of the traditional core which can help designers to reconcile the traditional and modern urban architecture by applying these principles in the City's conservation plan or new developments plans in the suburbs of the City. These comprise; the process of city formation; its overall structure and the course of the principal route as the backbone of the City; the concept of centre rooted in the notion of line and point; the concept of mound cities concerning the character of Kurdish culture which has strong responsiveness to the *Genius Loci* and features of the terrain; the sceno-graphic approach to the street pattern; the concept of the *Maidânché*; the self-reliant character perceived in the administrative structure of the selected quarter.

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate my research to my wife

Sohailla Mohammadikhah

for the love, understanding, encouragement and sacrifice.

If it were not for her, my dreams would never come true; and my children

Sima and Nima,

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Glossary of Farsi and Kurdish words

- Alâfs:** who sold the second hand dresses set on *Kursi*, a square table covered with quilts and blankets which can warm the legs and body by locating a brazier under it
- Alburz:** the major mountain range dominating the northern Iran. The Alborz mountain range forms a barrier between the south Caspian and the Qazvin-Tehran plateau.
- Amanullâh-Khân:** *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1799-1824)
- Amanullâh-Khân II:** *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1845-1867)
- Andaruni:** inside
- Âqâ:** title of respect for any male meaning sir; more specifically used as a title for religious leaders
- Âqâ-Zamân:** the name of a quarter, its literal translation is the master of time
- Asas:** guard, who dealt with security of the bazaar
- Asnaf:** guilds
- Asr:** late afternoon
- Âwear:** the name of a mountain, its literal translation is the source of water
- Âyatollâh:** clerical leader
- Azân/Bâng:** call to prayer
- Bâbâns:** as the rival of *Ardalâns* family, the *Bâbân* aristocratic family controlled much of the Southern Kurdistan (presently in Iraq) until the midst of the 19th century. “The *Bâbâns* were relative newcomers, unable to claim the antiquity of *Ardalân*. Their eponymous founder, Baba *Sulayman*, hailed from the *Pizhdar* tribe which dominated the valleys around *Râniya* and *Qalâ Diza*” (David McDowall 1996).
- Bâla-khané:** a Kurdish concept used for the best part of the house, mainly in rural settlements, which was usually allocated for entertainment of the guest
- Bân:** above
- Bâni:** founder
- Bâga-mayân:** local name for one of the site of a quarter meaning the place of garden
- Bâqât:** the plural of *Bâq*, garden, park
- Bar-haiwân:** an open veranda facing the natural landscape, public domain and courtyard in front of the main part of the house
- Bar-mâl:** front-house, as one of the main places of women’s social interaction
- Bâwân:** the bride’s parents, usually the place of reference or the safe place of refuge
- Bazaarché:** small market
- Bazaaris:** the merchants, who works in the bazaar
- Biruni:** outside
- Bouchek:** small
- Bunbast:** a blind alley, cul-de-sac
- Chahâr:** four
- Chahâr-bâq:** four gardens, a wide straight boulevard with four rows of large trees and pools
- Cham:** river
- Chelângr:** one of the craft similar to the blacksmith but in small scale
- Dare-bayân:** the name of a river, meaning the valley of quince
- Darull-Adab:** the house of training
- Darull-Elm:** the house of learning
- Darwâza:** gate
- Dasht:** plain, field
- Dej:** the embattled *Qalâ*

Derâz: long
Dou-Dergâ: two gates
Doul-e Haft-âsiaw: a valley (*Doul/Dare*) west of Sanandaj which contained seven (*Haft*) mills (*Âsiaw*)
Dukân: shop
Ecbâtânâ: the capital of Median Empire now the city of *Hamadân*
Emârat: edifice
Eyvâns: portico
Fajr: daybreak
Gatch: plaster
Gawrah: big
Gkamhâ: sorrows
Ghula: the name of a mosque meaning deep
Guldasté: minaret, nosegay
Gourwâ-bâzee: a kind of game within which the ring has to be guessed among the socks etc
Guzar: the major lines of the bazaar
Guzar-e Chelangrhâ: the line or pathway of blacksmith's craft
Guzar-e Kharazi: the line or pathway of haberdashery and grocery trades
Guzar-e Sarajhâ: the line or pathway of saddlers' craft
Guzar-e Uruci-Duzhâ: the line or pathway of shoe-makers' craft
Guzar-e Zahâbi-Duzha: the line or pathway of shoemakers' craft
Guzar-e Zargarhâ: the line or pathway of goldsmith's craft
Hâjara Khâtoon: the name of a place, where the sister of Imam *Rezâ*, the eighth Imam of the Shiite sect, was buried
Halo-Khân: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1590-1616)
Hammâm: public bath in traditional city
Hanafi: one of the four schools (*Madhabs*) of *Fiqh* or religious law within Sunni Islam
Hashti: vestibule
Hassan-âwâ: a village close to the City where the *Hassan-âwâ's Qalâ* was located
Héjâb or Châdur: veil which is used by women
Housh: courtyard
Husayniyya: the religious buildings within which the events of *Karbalâ*, the place of Imam Hussein's martyrdom, the third Shiite Imam, are commemorated
Imam Jumaa: the prayer leader
Imam Rizâ: the eighth Imam of the Shiite sect
Imamzâdé: shrines of saints who are believed to be descendants of Shiite Imams
Isha: late evening
Jâf: one of the Kurdish tribe under jurisdiction of *Ardalân* government, mentioned by Rich (1836)
Jahâz: trousseau, the equipments/means that the girl needs to carry with herself to the house of her husband.
Janat: heaven
Jawrâwa: the name of a quarter developed by toilers/workers
Jumaa mosque: Friday mosque
Kabul-akhbâr: the centre or source of news or the place of knowledge transaction
Kadkhudâ: the leader of a ward who acted as an intermediate agent between the government and the city populace
Kadkhudâ-manishi: traditional manner of solving problems among the neighbours, one or two elders act as mediator between both diverging persons.
Kalântar/Muhtasib: sheriff

Kalemihâ: Jews

Kâni: spring

Kasaba: tradesmen

Kâsa-hawsâ: neighbourhood bowl, it was a custom in past life of the City so that people usually offered some parts of their meal to the neighbours, sharing the meal with neighbours

Kazzer Zendah or Peer-e Gkaib: invisible saint

Kelhore: one of the Kurdish tribe under jurisdiction of *Ardalân* government, mentioned by Rich (1836)

Kelisâ: Church

Khâje-nesheen: platforms on both sides of the entrance part of the doorway, literally the sitting place of *Khâjé* (master)

Khâns/Beg: the titles of nobility used mostly for ruling families, they are originally feudal titles, who are literate, civilized and engaged in politics and possess often large land-holdings

Khân Ahmad-Khân: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1616-1636)

Khâneghâ: similar to the *Takya*, it is a centre of spiritual training used by *Derâwish*

Khân-e Kurd: the Kurd's house

Khan-e-Pâshâ Bâbân: from *Bâbâns* family who ruled *Sanandaj* from in 1720 to 1724

Khaziena: reservoir of *Hammâm*

Khiabân: street

Khulâm-gardêsh: a long size *bar-haiwân*, literally corridor or gallery

Khusrau-âwâ Bâq: the garden of *Khusrau-âwâ*

Khusrau-khân II: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1757-1789)

Khusrau-khân the Third: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1824-1834)

Kuché: literally, alley; its plural is *Kuchéha*, in the traditional city it referred to any kind of pathway

Kuchick: Stone

Kuchka-rash: block stone

Kuroor: each *Kuroor* is half a million

Lutigari: generosity

Madrassa: Islamic school

Maghrib: sunset, evening

Mahalla: a segregated neighbourhood, quarter **Mashâeikhs:** plural of sheikh, who is a venerable man and usually as a chieftain

Mahram: people who are close, immediate family like brother, sister, father, mother, uncle, aunt, grandparents. *Mahram* people cannot marry each other except husband and wife are married and *Mahram*

Maidânché: small square among the cluster houses

Masâjid: plural of *Masjid* meaning mosque

Masihiân: Christians

Maskan: dwelling, it derives from the root *Sikun* which literally means Quiet

Mastura-Khânwm: also known as the Kurdish poetess *Masture*, the only women-historiographer not only in *Sanandaj* but in all Near and Middle East till the end of 19th century

Mayâdin: the plural of *Maidân*, an open public square

Mazar: a shrine of a saint

Merdemeh: one of the Kurdish tribe under jurisdiction of *Ardalân* government, mentioned by Rich (1836)

Mewân-khân (guest house) or **Dewâ-khân** (court): the village club used mainly for entertainment of guests

Mezgat: mosque

Miyân-Qalâ: the name of ruling class quarter which means the *Qalâ*/citadel in between

Mudaréseen: plural of *Mudarés* meaning teacher

Muharam: the first month of the Islamic calendar; one of the four sacred months that Allah has mentioned in the Holy Koran, and the month of Imam Hussein's martyrdom (the third Shiite Imam)

Muhrs: small tablets made of clay from sacred cities

Mullâ: Mullah or clergy

Naghâl or Morshéd: storyteller

Naghâli: storytelling

Naghâreh-khâneh: the place where the drums was beaten at sunset

Nâ-Mahram: Male and female who are not close family are *Nâ-Mahram* to each other

Nazr: vow

Nema-hashti: a semi-polygonal uncovered space which formed the entry spaces of traditional houses

Otâghi orsi: sash-window room

Pahlavâni: championship

Pahlavid: Iranian dynasty founded by Reza Khan (1877–1944), an army officer who seized control of the government in 1921 and was proclaimed shah in 1925. From 1926 until 1979 Iran was ruled by two shahs of the Pahlavi Dynasty.

Peer Omar: one of the *Imamzâdéha* known as *Ali*'s son (the first Shiite Imam and the fourth Sunni Caliph) or Imam *Ali Zain AL-âbedin*'s son, the third Shiite Imam

Qâdi: a judge of an Islamic court

Qahvé-khané: coffeehouse or teahouse

Qajâr: The Turkic originated dynasty which ruled Iran from 1796 to 1925

Qalâ/Arg: citadel

Qalâ-kouna: the name of a village in far north of *Sanandaj*, literally means the old citadel

Qanâts: a subterranean canals bringing fresh water by gravitational force from the bases of the mountains to the settlements

Qatâr-chyân: the name of a quarter, its literal translation is muleteers

Qeshlâq: winter quarter

Qibla: direction of the Muslims face to the city of Mecca, which contained the holy house (*Ka'ba*), when they pray

Quhandezh/Qushk: the seat of power, usually on top of the city's highest land overlooking the other parts of the city

Quran: Koran, the Muslims holy book

Rabaz/Sawâd: suburban area

Rash-balak: the most popular Kurdish dance which usually is performed in a circular form such that the young boys and girls take hands together

Râsté: a pathway, usually running in a straight line

Rish-séfidân: elders

Sâddâts: the descendants of the Imams ***Salawâtâwâ***: the name of a village located east of *Sanandaj* in interval of five kilometres

Sarnuwi: the high lands

Sarrâf: a money-changer

Sar-tanour: a place of oven

Sâssânian: (also *Sassanid*) it is the name given to the kings of Iran, the last Iranian Empire before the Islamic period from 224 until 651, when the last Sassanid shah, Yazdegerd III, lost a 14-year struggle to drive out the Umayyad Caliphate, the first of the Islamic empires.

Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan: Cultural Heritage Organisation of Kurdistan

Sâzmân-e Naghshebardâry Kishvar: National Surveying Organisation of Iran

Sé-bakhshi: triplex plan, it is a common plan of the houses among the commoners

Sennah: the name of settlements present on the site of *Sanandaj*, especially on the slope of *Qalâ*'s hill

Shabistân: the prayer hall

Shâfi: one of the four schools (*Madhabs*) of *Fiqh* or religious law within Sunni Islam)

Ardalân Shâh: shah, king

Shâh-nesheen/Tâlâr: a column-structured porch in the structure of ruling class houses, usually comprised the main part of the house facing the courtyard

Shanashil: elaborate overhanging screened; which prevent any view from outside to inside while the sun will be directed in and the inhabitants can view the outside.

Shâr: city

Shâr-e Biruni: outer-city

Shâr-e Daruni or Shârestân: the middle part of the city which was defined as inner-city

Shârestân: middle part of the city

Shari'a: Islamic law

Sheikhân: the name of a place, where a known sheikh was buried

Sheikh Ismaeli: one of the Kurdish tribe under jurisdiction of *Ardalân* government, mentioned by Rich (1836)

Sheikhul-islam: the leader of Islam

Sisar: meaning thirty heads; the name of urban centre on the site of *Sanandaj* or just near to it which was dated back to the period of Caliphate as a centre to 'keep a military contingent in order to maintain the contacts with Kurds' (Vasilyeva 2000: 1).

Soujâ: prayer carpet

Subhân Werdi-khân: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1730-1747)

Sulaymania: as the capital of Bâbâns family in east *Zagros* Mountains, counterpart to the city of *Sanandaj*

Sulaymân-Khân: *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (1639-1656), the founder of *Sanandaj*

Sunna: the sayings of the Prophet

Suq: bazaar

Sura: chapter of the Holy Koran In total the Koran consists of 114 *Suras*

Surani: a branch of Kurdish language, a plurality of Kurds in Iran and Iraq

Takâyâ: community centre used by *Darawish*, the members of Sufism order, to performance of passion plays

Taleba: usually religious student

Tapulah: small hill

Tarawih: a kind of prayer specific to the month of Ramadan which comprise 20 units of praying

Tarighat: spiritual religious way in the order of Sufism

Tashi: spindle

Tashi-rési: wool-spinning

Tooman: a monetary unit of Iran, equal to ten *Rials*

Toos-Nauzar: the name of a hill in the city of *Sanandaj*; *Toos-nauzar* was the great Iranian *Shâh* in the period of the Median Empire, 728 - 550 BCE, who made the hill of that hill into his foothold and hunting-ground.

Turnâ: a kind of game mostly between youths within which they play with matchbox to specify the king and vizier (minister). The vizier usually is in charge of *Turrnâ* (a piece of cloth made alike lash) to perform the sentences of the king.

Umma: Denotation for the community of Muslims, that is, the totality of all Muslims

Urf: the custom of a given society

Ustâd: a skilled and experienced leader of apprentices, professor

Wâli: Governor General of a *Vilayet*, administrative division governed by a *Wâli*

Waqf: In Muslim law, a permanent endowment or trust, usually of real estate, in which the proceeds are spent for purposes designated by the benefactor. Usually devoted to charitable purposes)

Yakhachâl: ice-pit, icehouse

Zâbit: representative of *Khân* in rural areas, mainly to collect the revenue

Zâgros: the major mountain range dominating the western Iran. They consist of high parallel ranges with sheer rugged peaks, separated by steep canyons and gorges.

Zâkha: it is a built structure to some extent similar to the icehouse used in Iranian plateau. Its main part is usually underground with relatively more area than the top which is narrowed to maintain the ceiling and subterranean canals linked to other *Zakhé* or outside

Zand dynasty: the Iranian-Kurdish dynasty which ruled Iran from 1747 to 1794, contrary to other Iranian ruler “*Karim* (the founder of this dynasty) in fact never adopted the title of shah, but instead settled on the unprecedented title of *Wakil al-Ru’âyâ*, i.e., deputy of the people, or *Vakil* for the short. This recalls *Karim*’s ancient ancestor, the Kurdish *Mannaeen* king who addressed himself not personally but together with his patricians, elders, and councillors of the country to the Assyrian depots” (Izady 1992: 54).

Zarien-kawsh: golden shoes

Zhér-mâla: a poor family who lives in the house of a rich or notable but in the part of the house which is near to the entrance door.

Zuhâb: the 1639 Treaty of *Zuhâb* was the first agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Persian Empire to delineate a border, roughly separating Kurds between two rival Empires. The border region was approximately one hundred miles wide, extending from the edge of the *Zâgros* Mountains in the East to the banks of the Tigris and *Shatt al-Arab* Rivers in the West.

Zuhr: noon

Chapter One: Introduction

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1.1. Preface

Urban and architectural artefacts of the traditional environment can be seen as the imprints of human beings which have evolved over centuries according to strong socio-cultural and environmental “rationalities”. This means that “the morphology and spatial patterns of traditional cities have gradually developed to satisfy the cultural needs of their populations and, at the same time, to respond to their surrounding environment” (Kheirabadi 1991: 1). This defines the man-made environment as the content of meaning¹, especially when it is considered in its mutual relationships with the surrounding environment and in the context of history, because “man dwells when he can experience the environment as meaningful” (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 5). From these points, the historic urban fabric is considered here as the materialised form of human thoughts, skills and resources which created “functional, meaningful and identifiable spaces in relation to society, the time and the place” (Ozaslan 1996: 3).

In line with the above notions, traditional urban cores can be considered as irreplaceable assets representing the investment of centuries of knowledge and lessons which weave the various physical elements and spatial units together in particular contexts. For this reason, such environments are “a treasure house of human experience – of successes and failure” (Rapoport 1989: 100), good examples of “problem solving a total response to the challenge of climate and topography” and demonstrating an adaptation of man to the ebb and flow of social and political history of particular nations in a long process of trial and error (Ahmad and Malcolm 2001: 72). Generally speaking, these cores can be taken as laboratories for the examination of the process of creating the interrelationship between socio-cultural and physical environments, and its results in the form of physical qualities which gave birth to the character of the place; we examine this further under the heading of concept of shaping design principles.

1.2. The context

From the above points, we focus on the principles shaping the traditional Kurdish city of *Sanandaj*, situated in the Iranian context (the birth place of Kurdish culture within the majestic mountains range of the *Zâgros*), leading to the physical space qualities of the place,

¹ The meaning of any object consists in its relationships to other objects, that is, it consists in what the object gathers (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 166)

where the built environment responded to the physical environment and socio-political circumstances over the course of time. This will lead the research to characterise the design principles of the city's historic core. As the built form, especially traditional urban core, mediated the characteristics of its contexts – socio-cultural and physical environments – it can be recognised as particularly representative of the place, an excellent base for the study of the interrelationships between these contexts.

Most Iranian literature related to the traditional built environment, focused on the human settlements of the Iranian plateau, especially the cities located in the centre of this plateau and its surrounding area on the slopes of mountain ranges in the hot-arid zone (Lockhart 1939; English 1966; Bonine 1979; Tavassoli 1982; Kiani 1986; Kiani 1987; Kheirabadi 1991; Habibi 1996). Few scholars have studied the Iranian cities in the mountain area of *Zâgros* in the west (Clark and Clark 1969), fewer still have studied the Kurdish cities located in the province of Kurdistan (Vasilyeva 2000), and even fewer have studied those cities from the point of view of both environmental and socio-cultural factors. Note that no scholars, not even Clark and Clark (1969), have studied the cities located in the west and northwest of Iran as Kurdish cities with a background of Kurdish habits and traditions. Clark and Clark (1969), in their study of the city of *Kirmânshâh*, one of the largest Kurdish cities, explored the process of city development over the course time using a sequence of aerial maps without reference to the role of Kurdish culture in the shape and organisation of the various parts of the city. The only exception is the work of Vasilyeva (2000) who, for the first time, emphasised the concept of the Kurdish city in her study of *Sanandaj*. She gathered valuable information concerning the historical background of the city. But her work does not deal with spatial dimension of the city and lacks comparative discussion with other Iranian cities to draw out the distinctive character of the city taking into account the role of Kurdish culture.

Therefore, we can claim that no scholars have looked at the city of *Sanandaj* in the light of socio-spatial and morphological knowledge in order to examine its built form, and, more importantly, its relation to the wider Iranian and Kurdish contexts of which it is a part. This implies a gap in the knowledge of traditional settlement in this part of the country, and that more studies are required to provide better understanding of the interrelationships between the built form and its contexts, the contexts which give rise to an object with distinct character. In addition, this calls for a methodological approach in which the investigation of

any individual example should aim at establishing clearly what is unique and peculiar to the place and explicable only from local conditions. From another point of view, this means that the approach to studying the city, especially a Kurdish city within the Iranian context, can be a base for future studies concerning the Kurdish cities in the contexts of Iraq, Turkey and Syria because the four countries comprise most of the Kurdish settlements.

Generally, as the main concern of the research is the traditional built form in reviewing the literature and analysing the case study the focus is mainly on the part of the city and its structure as it was formed before the overall modernisation.

1.3. The aim and objectives of the study

The primary aim and focus of this study is to investigate and identify the shaping design principles of the actual physical configuration and arrangements which have formed the traditional core of *Sanandaj*. The main aim leads to a number of objectives framed as questions², which inform the development of our methodology.

1. How was the historic core of *Sanandaj* formed?
2. What shaping design principles were applied in its formation and gave birth to its character?
3. What kind of ideas, norms and beliefs were engaged in applying these principles? Or from which ideas, norms and beliefs did these principles emanate?
4. What can we learn from this study about the future prospects of the city and others in similar situations?

By finding answers to these questions, it is hoped that we can provide better information about a particular traditional core, the determinants of its built form and what gave it a peculiar character distinguishable from other Iranian cities.

1.3.1. The focus of the thesis and the selection of the case study

As stated earlier, the city of *Sanandaj* was selected in order to examine the design principles of the traditional built form within the particular context of Kurdish culture. It is the capital of Kurdistan, the region which contains a majority of the Kurdish people in Iran. It gained its peculiar character due to its well known location within the *Zâgros* mountain range – the

² Phrasing study objectives as questions is desirable in that it leads to more clearly focused discussion of the type of information needed (Bickman and Rog 1998: 8).

mountains which define the western edge of the Iranian plateau – and to the cultural background of the Kurdish people. The *Zâgros* mountains have been recognised as the single physical phenomenon which has had a major influence in shaping Kurdish history, people, traditions, and culture (Izady 1992). It was a majestic border between two rival empires: on the one side the Ottoman Empire was part of the *Hanafite* (Sunni tradition) and on the other the *Safavid* Empire was a part of the Shiite sect, which has had a major role in the formation of castellated city structures, often located on inaccessible places. Within these rival empires, the majority of Kurdish Muslims adhered to the *Shâfi'ite* Sunni rites contrary to both empires to distinguish their identity from the surrounding lands.

The nature of the challenges between those empires and the independent status of castellated city structures in the “Perso-Turkish” frontiers (Minorsky 1943) contextualised the idea of departure from that structure to a new city to some extent capable of control by the Iranian side. Considering this point, the city of *Sanandaj* was founded in 1639 by the *Ardalân* family with an unusual form distinct from other Iranian cities. Its structure to some extent shows a particular character which no other traditional Iranian city had shown during the Islamic period. Its main structure sprang from the castellated cities, which contained three layers of urban spaces; the citadel or *Qalâ* on the top of a hill in the centre of the city’s setting was surrounded by a wall, the quarter occupied by the ruling class was again enclosed by a wall, and, beyond these two parts, is the rest of the city comprising three main quarters and one newer quarter free of man-made walls. These three quarters as a collection of villages circled the nucleus of power and were partitioned mostly based on the professions to build the third layer of city walls and to supply the needs of the ruling class and whatever else a medium sized city needed to function. Therefore, as a founded city it can be recognised as an important built form which presents the Kurdish understanding of the environment.

In line with above notion, it is important to say that the city’s foundation and development was bound to the destiny of a great family, the *Ardalân* family, which governed the region for more than seven hundred years so that they have left major imprints on the city structure. To some extent, when this family was driven out of the government of Kurdistan in 1867 the city also lost its splendid image. It means that “as the symbol of *Ardalâns*’ power *Sanandaj* followed all the curves of their political fate” including the continuous efforts of this family in rebuilding and redecorating its constructions (Vasilyeva 2000: 5). By the change of government to non local people, the unique atmosphere which was created and maintained

by the power of this family and informed by Kurdish habits and traditions was brought to an end because the subsequent rulers considered nothing but their personal interests. More importantly, they mostly engaged in military action to pacify the unrest of tribes in the frontier area and the protests of the people against them.

For all the above reasons, *Sanandaj* city's core was chosen as the focus of the thesis within which one of the quarters was selected as the case study to be examined in detail in respect of the aim and objectives of the research (figure 1.1).

Among the city quarters, the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* was selected because of the availability of existing information and because its structure was changed less than others. More importantly, it is a well known quarter among the city's inhabitants which can help us understand the past life of the city. In addition, in comparison to the physical structure of quarters in other Iranian cities, it is also a well defined quarter with a particular character distinguishable from other quarters. To some extent, its separation from the main part of the city by the river of *Dara-bayân* made it a self-reliant quarter with two active *Bazaarché* (small bazaars which contain the urban elements of *Hammâm* or bathhouse, mosque, *Qahvé-khané* or coffeehouse and retail shops). These features justified the selection this quarter for a rigorous analysis of the socio-spatial dimension of the built form.

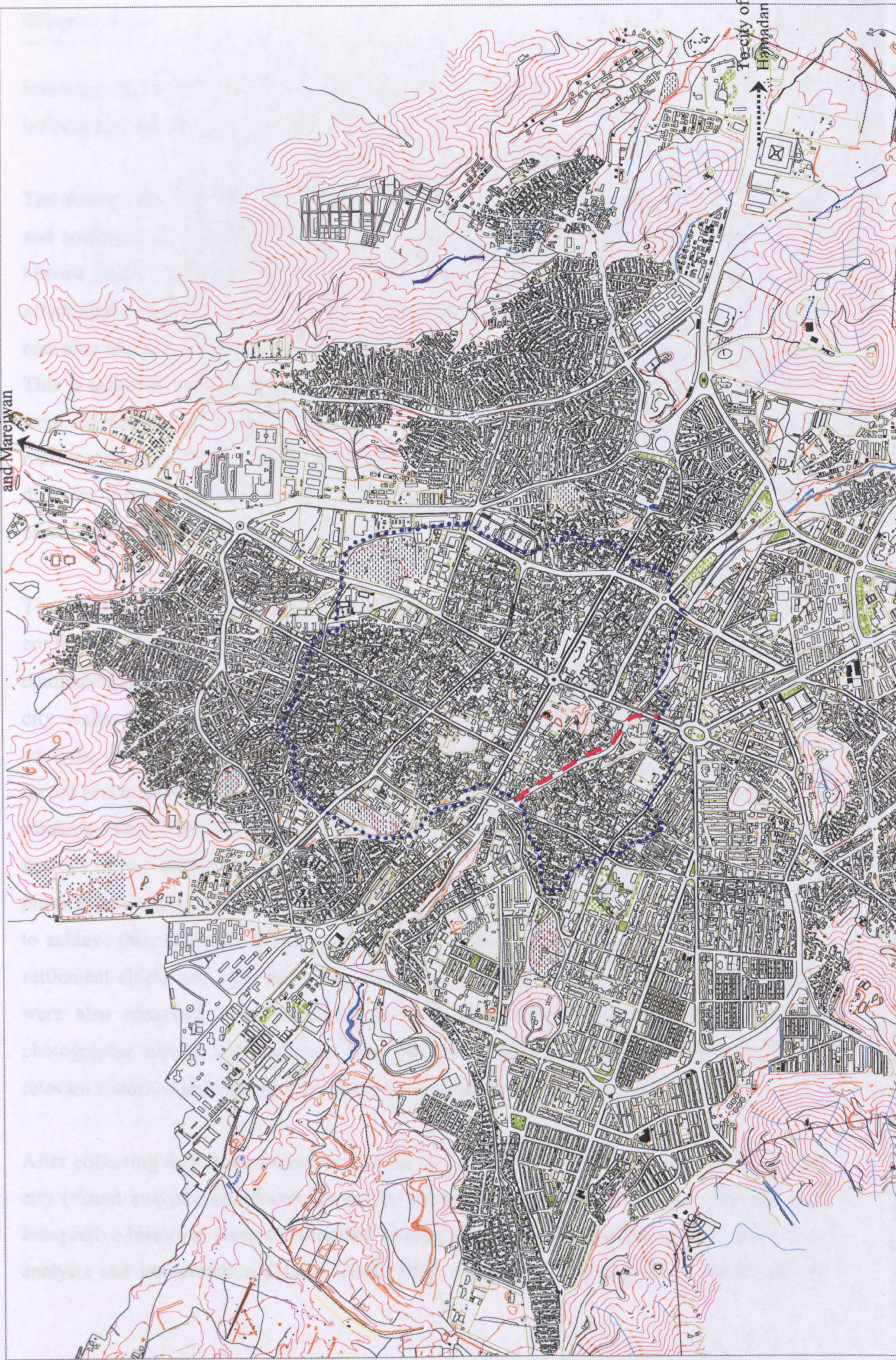
1.4. The Methodology

In historic towns [townscape] is the result of secular processes of morphological change, actuated by that society during many centuries in response to successive changes in its social, political, economic and cultural requirements within a wider historical and regional context (Conzen 1988: 253).

The essence of the research – dealing with the historic urban fabric, its formation, and shaping design principles of physical configuration and arrangements within a particular socio-spatial context – implies historical research with the essence of a qualitative approach which tries to understand the built environment in a “holistic and full-bodied way” (Groat and Wang 2002: 14, 28) in the direction of interpretive research. This means that the research methodology is in line with an inductive process of “mutual simultaneous shaping of factors” which seeks clarification of multiple critical determinants affecting the phenomenon under investigation. In this regard, our view is that the built form of the traditional environment and its intrinsic shaping principles would be best understood by

To cities of Saghez
and Marivan

To city of
Hamadan





Historic core's boundary

.....

Qatâr-chyân quarter's
boundary

- - - - -

To city of Kirmanshah

Figure1. 1. Current map of the city in relation to the historic core and the studied neighbourhood, Qatâr-chyân

Source: Kurdistan housing and urban planning organisation 2000

investigating the process of its formation, and by an emphasis on the socio-spatial factors influencing its form over the course of time.

The above, along with the main aims and objectives of the research suggest using a historical and socio-spatial analysis of the built form. *The historical analysis* will examine how the historic core of *Sanandaj* was formed, and will explain the general socio-political processes affecting the morphology of both social and physical contexts. This will lead the research to conceive the process of city formation leading to the identification of its shaping factors. This is achieved by *indirect observation*, constructing the past traditional image of the city from old documents, literature, and interviews with key people (mostly local historians and representatives of ruling class families). In this regard, old photos, aerial photos taken at different times, sequence maps, private and public archives (transcripts and family chronology), and historical books have been used.

The *socio-spatial analysis* investigates the shaping principles underlying the physical space configuration of both natural landscape and man-made environment (historic core components). This includes the general structure of the city comprising site and situation, city walls, bazaar, Friday mosque, street pattern and neighbourhoods. At this level of analysis, accompanying the first method, **direct observation** was carried out in order to record and understand the features of the built form concerning the aim and questions of the research. This method comprises taking photographs and graphs, sketch analysis, and surveys of two cluster houses and some parts of the circulation system of the streets. This physical analysis is supplemented by the socio-cultural background of the context. In order to achieve this, alongside the document analysis extensive interviews were carried out with settlement elders and local historians. The regular activities and behaviour of the residents were also observed, using fieldwork notes as well as recording on maps and plans, photographic survey, and drawings. This contextual information was enriched by gathering relevant historical and ethnographical works concerning the nature of Kurdish culture.

After collecting data from direct and indirect observation of the traditional urban core of the city (visual analysis and document survey along with interviews), the next steps of such interpretive-historical research comprise “sorting data and building explanations”, this means analysis and interpretation (Mason 2002: 147). In this part, the analysis is carried out by

building comparisons with Iranian and Islamic cities using photos, analytical plans and drawings alongside the discussion.

A full description of the research methodology is given in Chapter Three.

1.5. The structure of the study

The study is divided into nine chapters (figure 1.2). The introduction is the **First Chapter** and serves as a preamble wherein an overall view of the research and its initial area of interest are discussed. **Chapter Two** reviews the literature to identify and develop the concepts concerning traditional settlements, especially concepts in relation to the Islamic city. It will also examine theoretical analyses by both Muslim and Western scholars pertaining to traditional cities in general and Islamic-Iranian cities in particular. These points also provide a framework leading to the methodological approach. **Chapter Three** focuses on the details of research methodology, the methods and techniques adopted in this study. In respect to the integrated approach of the research, multiple methods were applied in fieldwork explained in details concerning the City's historical background, its morphological character and the socio-spatial features of the selected case study.

Chapter Four deals with the historical background of the city and aims to identify the process of city formation over the course of time leading to determinates affecting the general morphology of the city. It comprises two parts; a brief description of the socio-political background leading to the foundation of the city in 1639, and the main part which deals with process of city formation and its evolution over the course of time up to 1930.

Chapter Five investigates the total structure of the city, both natural and man-made (the structure of place). This entails investigating the city's main constituent elements and their spatial structure. It also aims to characterize the determinants of the built form. Generally, it presents a process of analysis of the selected built form ranging from the macro-scale, the city's geophysical setting, to the micro-scale at the level of main public places of the city.

Chapter Six tackles the structuring elements of the selected quarter, the elements which gave rise mainly to the apparent character of the quarter, and aims to characterise those elements and the phases of the quarter's development. It presents the evolution of the quarter

with respect to socio-spatial factors which maintained its particular character making it distinct from other quarters.

Chapter Seven examines the social dimension of the built form by looking into the notions of public domain in the quarter mostly related to Kurdish culture to make clear the distinctive character of the selected case as representative of Kurdish understanding of the built form. This will be examined from both social and physical dimensions to approach the questions of the research concerning the design principles and manner of organisation of the built form in the public realm; mainly the ideas and beliefs which made them applicable in the selected society, leading to the private realm as the main theme of the next chapter.

Following on from the previous chapter, **Chapter Eight** deals with the private domain to understand the continuity of the perceived order from the public domain to the private one, especially the courtyard part of the houses. In this journey to the private domain, apart from the means of connection to the outside world, the spatial organisation of the house in the higher and lower status families will be analysed because this makes clear different values and attitudes.

The last part of the research comprises **Chapter Nine** which outlines the research conclusions and findings with some recommendations for future studies. It also draws attention to some suggestions concerning the findings and their application in future prospects of the city and similar situations.

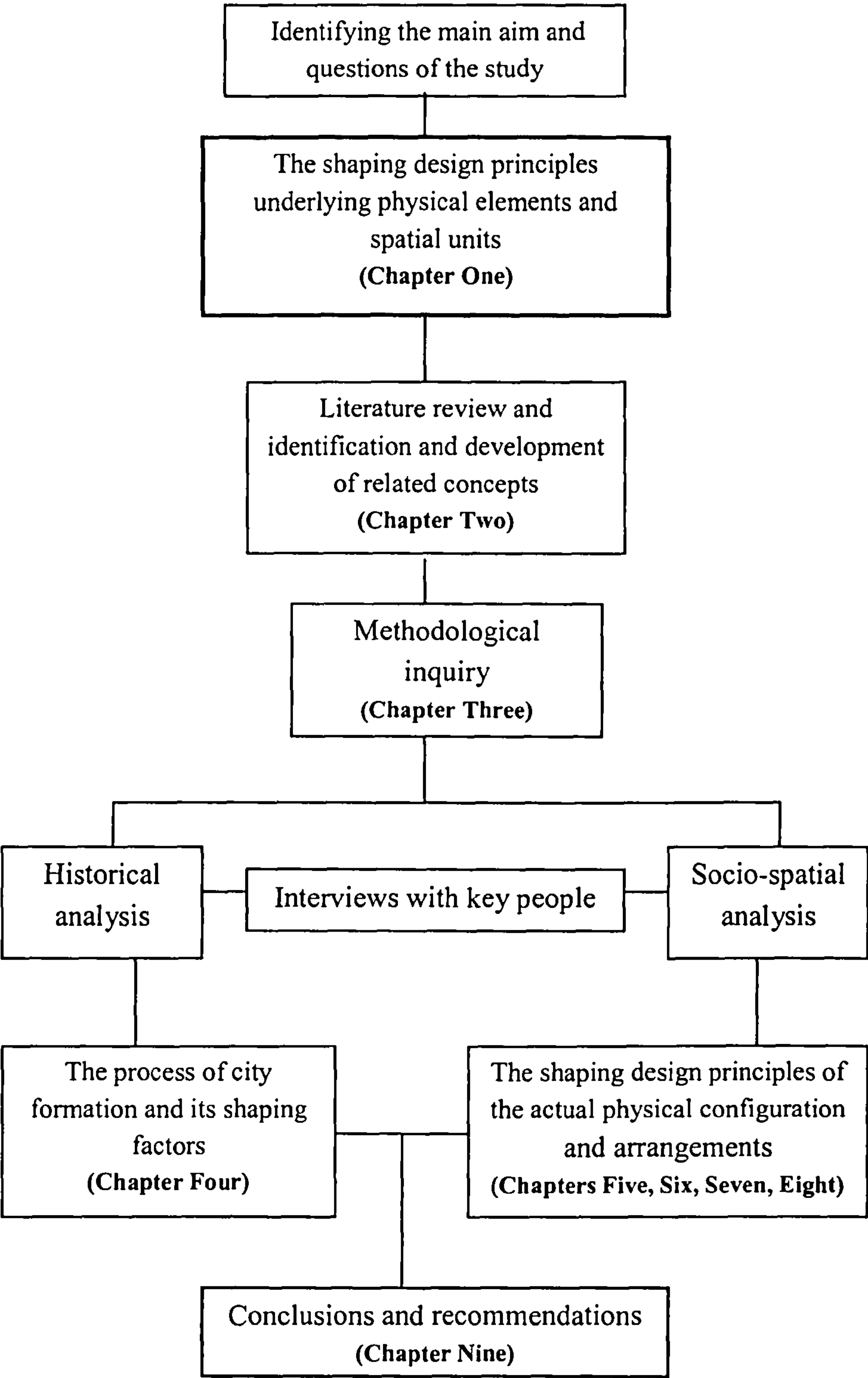


Figure 1. 2. The process of the research

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Development of Relevant Concepts

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2.1. A review of approaches to traditional built environment

Cities are an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and city design. This is the laboratory in which city planning should have been learning and forming and testing its theories (Jane Jacobs 1961 quoted in Buttner 1980: 21).

This chapter will investigate the literature concerning the traditional built environment, the environment which forms the old sections of many contemporary cities, in order to identify and develop the general concepts in its world view and specifically one in relation to the Islamic city and the Iranian context. The purpose of such a review is to discover ideas which will be helpful in addressing the research questions leading to the structure of the methodology, and to build a platform for the second theme of the study, the case study analysis. It means that its findings will direct the research to analyze the case study by referring to the concepts emerging from this chapter.

The traditional built form has been studied from different points of view, and by a variety of disciplines. The first step is to formulate a definition of tradition leading to attitude towards an approach for the current study which embodies the main aim of the research. Later on, the structure of the traditional city will be discussed in a general world view and in particular one concerning the Islamic city. The final phase of the review is an account of traditional Iranian cities before the overall modernization of Iranian society that began mostly after the *Qajâr* period (1794-1925). During this review, an attempt is made to draw attention to the ideas which relate to the study and to the theoretical and practical bases of the main research questions.

2.1.1. Definitions of tradition

To get closer to the meaning of tradition, we can begin by looking at the etymology of the term. As Plested (2001: 1) indicated, the word tradition was derived from the Latin "*traditio*, equivalent to the Greek *paradosis*". It means handing down "the inherited and complex evolution of things cultural, social, conventional, and institutional" by someone or something to someone or something from generation to generation, especially by word of mouth or by practice (Demetri Porphyrios quoted in Silva, Barbosa et al. 2002). This denotes the importance of tradition as "the heritage of the continued value or evolved existence of things and that it is not a static notion implying necessarily outdated past and therefore useless, as it was viewed in chronological terms by its modern usage, but it is dynamic and transmissible

to subsequent times due to a process and the content of that which is transmitted.” From these points, tradition is “the result of selected popular wisdom and of the intelligence and experiences of whole generations of craftsmen, artists and citizen. It is the most advanced form of collective intelligence yet devised by humanity” (Silva, Barbosa et al. 2002).

In line with above thinking, we can now portray the concept of tradition in relation to the traditional built environment, the environment which was recognized as a great work of man manifesting a combination of unique aesthetic cultural and ecological characteristics (Lawrence 2001), and define an appropriate approach in respect of the mentioned definition.

In human settlements, according to the above definition, tradition is the outcome of generations of skills and resources involved with improving the living environment of the community, those achievements which are proven most worthy (Elaraby 1996). This resulted in the form of buildings and spaces which used local resources to their best advantage, achieved ecological equilibrium between the community’s needs and the capacity of its container - the natural environment (Dutta 2001: 433). It means two main basic notions or parameters are needed in understanding traditional settlements; One is nature, the form giver to architecture as it embodies structure (place) (Norberg-Schulz 1980), and the second is the community’s needs rooted in the socio-cultural circumstances that embraced that community over the course of time (Dutta 2001). The last also contains two important notions concerning the process of formation in traditional settlements (the challenge of time), which can be recognised as the main essence of tradition (handed down) whereby continuity is maintained, and second that every culture has its own way of interacting with the environment, and cultural origins involving common people (Bourdier and Alsayyad 1989; Oliver 1989). These were recognised as important points in studying these environments, (Ozaslan 1998; Ahmad and Malcolm 2001; Rapoport 2001) because “they reveal underlying concepts and the structured order of the society they are associated with” (Tjahjono 1989: 234). Therefore, in the definition of this environment, it is relevant to say that:

“Urban forms of the traditional settlement spring from the physical characteristics of a site” (as the first context in which built form takes shape) *“as they interface with the social requirements and environment factors as climate and from the social and psychological demands of the community to achieve symbolic and expressive values”* over the course of time (Karaman 2001: 137). Therefore, it is likely to be highly *“place-specific”* (Rapoport

1989: 91), which means that “*it is bound up with and determined by place, social parameters and the factor of time*” (Ozaslan 1996: 124, 9).

Generally, the above notions characterise the traditional environment as “a complex and dynamic process of problem solving, a total response to the challenge of climate and topography and an adaptation to a set of cultural values” maintained over the course of time (Ishteeaque 1994 cited in Ahmad 2001: 72). It means that, the architectural artefacts of the traditional built form were brought into being according to time, place, and society. Hence, these views emphasize the traditional built form as an environment which was formed based on strong relationships between the two realms of the physical and social worlds with the leavening of time and its circumstances. This is what Iban Khaldun, the Maghrebi philosopher of the 14th century AD, also pointed out in relation to the Islamic cities of that period (Falamaki 1978).

2.1.2 Attitudes towards traditional built forms

“The reason we are interested in traditional forms of buildings, dwellings and settlements is that we believe that such achievements met human needs in a more sensitive way than contemporary and/or alien methods do. It is this belief that sends us back to the past ...” (Abu Lughod 1992 quoted in Bianca 2000: 184).

In the view of Oleg Grabar, architectural historian, the concept of tradition can be viewed in two ways:

One is that of a body of culture which existed before a development took place; tradition is the past of a culture, and, like any past, it is by definition dead... As such, it can become a ghost and a sound of inspiration, but it no longer exists except as a monument, as a memory (if not a souvenir), as a statement of another time. The second idea is that tradition is a body of habits, beliefs and behaviours which exists, but which is, in a sense, independent of development. Traditions are philosophical and theological systems which affect the minds and souls of men and women. It is reasonable to imagine that such systems could and should affect development, because they are vehicles for moral and aesthetic judgement and, therefore, provide a stamp of approval for anything done (cited in Bechhoefer 2001: 51,52).

The first view implies the conserving of the traditional environment in a museum approach without desiring the contextual meanings. This means dislocating the sense of unity in urban settlement in order to freeze a monumental feature as a milestone to indicate memory. For example, in the Iranian context, the best-known example of such a view can be evidenced in the shrine of Imam Reza in *Mashhad*. The expansion of the shrine, in effect, reverses the

shrine complex of Imam *Rizâ* in which all structures adjacent to the shrine complex were cleared to form a large green lawn and circular boulevard, isolating the shrine from its urban context. In the second view of tradition it is seen as a flow of knowledge or a body of beliefs which exist in the memory and in architectural artefacts and affect and facilitate our perception and judgment about development. In line with this judgment Rapoport (1999: 57) summarised four possible attitudes to dealing with the traditional environment:

1. It can be ignored – which is still the most common attitude.
2. One can admit its existence but deny that it has any useful or worthwhile lessons.
3. It can be copied – its shape, details, massing and so on (as it is romanticized).
4. One can derive more or less general lessons and principles from it, through the use of studies, concepts, models and so on. It is these lessons that are then applied in design.

From the definition of tradition, only the last one is a viable approach to such environments, learning lessons and principles that then become the points of reference for other studies as precedents rather than imitation (Rapoport 1990: 32-33). This defines the main purpose of this study, decoding the principles of articulation of parts of a particular traditional built form and the qualities of its physical and spatial units as lessons from past generations struggling with time and space (the surrounding environment) to satisfy their cultural needs. Thus, the findings will make a structure for other studies dealing with conservation plan and future development of the city.

In respect of the above attitudes, in recent years, the values of city character/identity or local character and the concept of sustainability¹ and its complementary concept of compact forms of settlements as the rational outcome of the traditional city, have been presented by many scholars through different symposiums, periodical, journals and individual works; examples are the International Symposium Concerning the Traditional Environment in the new Millennium 2001, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Journal and the *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Oliver 1997). These have been marked by investigation of individual examples in order to recover the values, principles and knowledge which made this environment better adapted to its context over the course of time. Although, the view of traditional cores, as cultural memories of thinking and

¹ Traditional environment is a successful one in coexisting with the nature as a striking balance between human activities and natural environment. this, in turn, can be viewed as the sustainability of the wisdom, skills, knowledge and the satisfaction of human needs embedded in this environment, which will be of major importance to future generation (Steele 1996; Oliver 1997)

monuments in practice, had been viewed by scholars through the act of modernism and its importance has been documented in the Venice Charter², new trends in cultural values focus on the meanings and principles embedded in these environments emerging from the mutual interaction of man and his environment over time.

2.1.3. Approaches to traditional built form

2.1.3.1. Townscape

The city is an amalgam of buildings and peoples it is also the ultimate memorial of our struggles to glories: it is where the pride of the past is set on display (Kostof 1991: 16).

As there is no single approach to studying the traditional built form, it benefits from a diversity of perceptions which a variety of research has conceptualised. The earliest is from architecture which mainly emphasised the aesthetic qualities of urban artefacts through interpretation of the townscape. This can be seen first in the seminal work of Sitte (1889, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*) who influenced later views concerning the way to approach traditional cities. In approaching the physical qualities of medieval cities, he mostly relied on serial vision and composition notions (Moughtin 2003). This tradition was continued by Unwin (1909 cited in Carmona, Heath et al. 2003) and later Saarinen (1943), who recognised the beauty of medieval towns due to a proper correlation between the buildings not the individual parts, and more important their relatedness with surrounding nature. The distilled ideas of this tradition reinforced the editorial board of the *Architectural Review* in 1940 which sought to conceptualise architecture and planning as visual arts (Bandini 1992).

The continuing line of the *Architectural Review*'s board can be followed in the works of Cullen (1961); who perceived the city as the art of relationships (the drama of juxtaposition), the how of bringing buildings together and collectively in such a way that a coherent drama is released, creating a great sense of visual pleasure or how to "appreciate a town as a series of unfolding pictures" (Moughtin 2003: 225). Moughtin (2003) and Bacon (1975: 7) also viewed the city as a work of art which was constituted of two elements "architecture of movement and architecture of repose" (Madanipour 1990: 9). Although, they only

² In this regard we can refer to the writings of Ergecgil (2001: 76) which stated that the Charter "tried to regulate preservation practices. For example the charter implements ethic necessity of the recognition of different periods. It also defines the cultural heritage as belonging to the past. It also indicates or advises that all of the interference must be discernable from the original statement of the building. This charter also reflects ideological preferences of modernity. In short it advocates the break instead of the process. It establishes a unique past and separates it from present time".

considered the visual impact of the city on those who live in it or visit it, and those involved in “the manipulation of the elements of landscape and streetscape for environmental improvement” (Bandini 1992 cited in Madanipour 1996: 45), their views built an important platform for analyzing the city’s configuration parts, especially its spatial dimension, because they emphasised the composition and relatedness aspects of the built form.

It is worth mentioning that the above way of comprehending urban architecture was used in the specific area of Islamic and Iranian architecture by Antoniou (1998), Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973) and Browne (1976: 260). In a journey to historic Cairo for the purpose of developing a conservation plan, Antoniou tried to comprehend the city using traditional townscape alongside analytical drawings in both two and three dimensional points of view. The point of his work is mainly framing the image of the city’s constituent parts (buildings and spaces) by referencing to the function of spaces together in a meaningful way. In the work of Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973), *The Sense of Unity*, serial vision is the main analytical tool which they use to study Isfahân’s bazaar. Similar to the work of Cullen, Browne uses traditional townscape to make clear the Isfahân’s bazaar composition, “one of the great spatial sequences of the world”. For him, composition is the main theme in approaching the image of a city so that both buildings and spaces may be perceived together in a meaningful way.

Generally, as the above way of analysing urban artefacts involves them with their possible uses, it was recognized in architecture and conventionally was called “the design approach” (Madanipour 1996; Pavlides 1997) or “product oriented” (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). It aims to document the quality of artefacts in relation to their physical context – nature and human made. More precisely, it is an approach to studying and assessing settlements from the point of “a building’s components’ complex interrelationships, its resulting qualities and the relationship of these qualities to possible use” (Pavlides 1997: 15). From this perspective, this approach analyzes the city from the spatial dimension emphasising the role of architecture as “the unavoidable art” which created a “physical vessel, a container, for human activity” (Roth 1993): xxix, 1). As it is based “solely upon taste” (Bandini 1992: 147), especially the experience of architects, who rely on the visible actions of artefacts and who tried to evaluate the surface qualities of artefacts in order to establish “fit between form and function”, its application without regard to other approaches does not cover our purposes because it lacks the social dimension of built form which was impressed with specific

cultural intent. This can be recognised as the main failure of this approach. Convincing examples of this failure, especially its product oriented approach, can be traced in the ideas of Orientlists concerning the typical model of an Islamic city (W. Marcais 1928, G. Marcais 1945 cited in Alsayyad 1991: 16). They approached and conceptualised the notion of an Islamic city solely through its physical form, which was based on “its juxtaposition with its medieval European counterpart”, rather than its other dimensions - the cultural, social, economic, political, and spatial factors and processes contributing to end product of this city. For this reason, their views were criticised by many Muslim and non-Muslim scholars.

Regardless of the limitations of that approach, it can be recognised as a valid approach when used with other approaches dealing with the social dimension of the built form. More importantly, most scholars dealing with the built form, especially the qualities of the physical form even with the leavening/essence of the public realm (as the main concern of Urban Design) are still using this approach (Moughtin 1999; Moughtin 2003). For example, even Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973), whose approach to conceptualising the Islamic city is partly based on Sufi mysticism, make effective use of the townscape approach in appreciating the aesthetic qualities of the built form. Furthermore, the importance of this approach can also be recognised in the contemporary notion of Urban Design which is simultaneously concerned with the design of urban space as an aesthetic entity and as a behavioural setting. However, it can be regarded as a first step in analysing the built form in respect of aesthetic or functional aspects which later will be enhanced by the perspectives of other approaches in order to identify and understand the “whys, the purposes, the underlying rationale, of built form” (Stea 1997: 20).

2.1.3.2. Organism Pattern

Another branch within the above approach emphasised the view of the organic pattern of the traditional city so that its historical transformation is compared to the biological evolution of the natural world (Smith 1973; Alexander 1987). They pointed out the universal principles in the nature of the growth of these cities and their process of formation is an important point that resulted in their “wholeness”. It means that, the old cities gained their structure through the process of the gradual forming of individual buildings. Stemming from this, the city is like an organism which comprises many sub-systems, “each with a degree of authority, and

each contributing to the life of the higher sub-system of which it is an integral part” (Smith 1973: 239).

In the light of this approach, the Islamic city was perceived as a good example of an organic pattern which contained a number of internal connections which build a coherent wholeness in respect of an inward-governing structure (Berardi 1989). By analogy, the courtyard can be seen as the cells which contain the main part of Muslim life, the *Kuchéha* (alleys) represent the veins as the connecting internal corridors, and the bazaar corresponds to the artery or the backbone of the city in merging the social life of Muslims with the spaces within the bazaar itself and the Friday mosque and related public buildings.

This view of the organism pattern, which led to the ecological method, was criticized for its failure to consider the fluctuation of time-scales during the process of transformation which evidently involve “human beings whose behaviour does not necessarily follow the physical laws of nature – laws that govern the very long-term” and due to the relatively permanent principles (Madanipour 1996: 42).

2.1.3.3. Imageability (subjective approach)

Lynch (1960, though in line with above approach, introduced a humanizing view. This seminal approach within the naturalistic paradigm applied to the fields of architecture and planning the premise that, reality is a projection of human imagination and the mutual and perpetual relationship between man and his environment, brought about the important theory of a city’s imageability and led to the establishment of an approach and structure of inquiry for analysis of the city’s constituent parts. He developed an important approach for analysing city structure as he divided the content of the city’s image into physical forms such as paths, nodes, districts, landmarks and edges.

Although, he relied on the people’s perception of the image of the city and its legibility, his final results was an abstraction of points which implicitly reduced the city to the sum of its physical spaces and structures (Gottdiener and Lagopoulos 1986) and his study “deliberately de-emphasized the *meanings* that places hold for their inhabitants, yet this aspect remains central” (Vale, Warner et al. 1998). More importantly, as the city image is supplemented and

constructed by exposure to visual media rather than by direct sense experience of urban realms, his study rarely probed such points in the knowledge of city dwellers.

2.1.3.4. Environmental-behaviour relations

Moving toward the aim of humanizing the approach to urban form, as a shift from a stereotypical Eurocentric model of built form (as art of man) to its relation with cultural variables, Rapoport (1962, 1977) put forward the view of cultural imperatives in studying urban form. This broadened the scope of studies in architecture and urban design from the dominance of physical entities to a subject that included social science. From this perspective, Gottmann (1978) pointed out the notions of software (human aspects) and hardware (physical aspects) spaces and stresses that the city is more than its physical form. In this approach, the urban form is clearly seen as an outcome of culture and cultural variables.

The notion was expanded into a new method of inquiry into built form studies, Environmental-Behaviour Relations, within which inferences are made from form to activities because “form reflects the desired activities” (Rapoport 1990: 11) (figure 1). This is based on the assumption that the environments are created to support specific activities. Activities, he argued, are the manifestation of life style and, ultimately, culture. Thus, “the purpose of built environment is to be congruent with and supportive of the life-style and activity systems of inhabitants, including their latent aspects” (Rapoport 1990: 21).

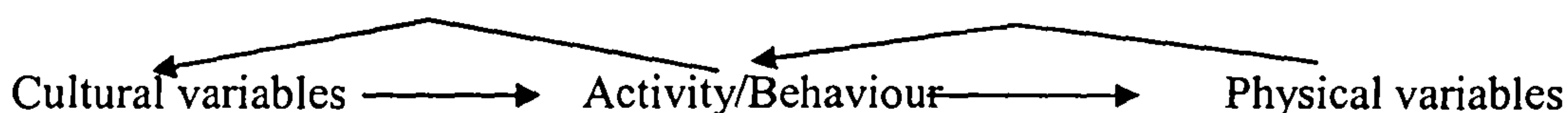


Figure 2. 1. A simple process of drawing inferences from the built environment

Based on Rapoport 1990

Then he presented the main part of his approach such that these two concepts will be joined through the meanings, the cues which are embedded in the settings. It means that this idea will lead us to seek the relationship between the built environment and people’s behaviour and that “the shaping and using of built environment can only be understood in terms of behaviour” (Rapoport 1990: 182) and emphasises that each culture materialised its own order of settings. The important point of this approach is in relation to the inferences from the characteristics of the traditional environment, such as the courtyard and the compact form of settlements, to special concepts or activities, for instance privacy or safety and social

cohesion. These are the outcome of two initial questions; what does it mean? And why did it happen?

Furthermore, it is worth stating that, the building principles of traditional environments (in the view of this approach) are an expression of a specific language of built form, which are associated to the social and cultural background of a particular community. This is in relation to the notion that the creation of built form is due to manifest “culture patterns”, and that the built form analysis must include the differences between the social backgrounds of communities. For example, the higher classes tend to express the built form for individual patrons which may be highly “idiosyncratic”. On contrary, in lower classes this is reversed and the built form reflects the shared “schemata” (Rapoport 1990). In line with this, Weber (1991), by referring to the meaningful forms of architecture, ascribed indigenous architecture to the members of shared groups whereas more formal architecture for example classical one to individual patterns/desires. From this point of view, Southall (1998: 14) claimed that “the creation of the city involved a sharp rise in inequality, which alone made possible the splendid achievements in art and architecture and the vital innovations in the organisation of human life which the city has brought”. Therefore, the cultural pattern is an important parameter influencing “the level of socially acceptable space consumption and proximity” (Burgess 2000: 14).

Generally, the essence of this approach is more concerned with cultural variables: social structures, belief systems and behavioural patterns influencing the built form, its function and meaning in its environmental context (Oliver 1997). For example imagine the built form of Islamic cities which respect the custom, ownership, and Muslim’s right to visual privacy. This does not mean that there is a plan and we must follow its order/direction; we only will be aware of constraints and thresholds accepted by social behaviour due to the Islamic faith as the basis for value systems and customs (Saleh 1998c), or in another view Stea (1997: 19) named them “guardians of essential knowledge concerning the manipulation of bounded spaces, including sites and the construction of buildings”. In summary, this approach can be characterised by the following words of Elaraby (1996: 138):

Culture is a way of life, having a vocabulary of design elements and an identity interpreted and manifested in a specific architectural language that gives it its own style, distinction, character and personality.

In the light of this approach concerning the notion of the Islamic city, we can look at some of the scholars (Akbar 1988 & Hathloul 1992 cited in Alsayyad 1996) who have sought social explanations for the configurations of urban form within that notion. In the view of Akbar (1988: 7), instead of analysing the end product, it is better “to investigate the societal process that produced the traditional environment”. As he asserts, this is an inward view into the structure of the city which reduces the risk of a study falling into the formalist trap. Similar to Akbar, Hathloul identifies the process by which social and cultural structures ultimately shaped Muslim cities. As discussed later in the section dealing with the concept of Islamic city, these social explanations mostly sprang from the seminal work of Lapidus (1967) who studied Muslim urban society by examining interactions between subsidiary groups as the bases that managed the society in the absence of formal authority.

In some respects, the view of the above approach can be criticized as it allocates special priority to the role of cultural parameters as the main determinants of the built form and undermines the other factors, especially the role of physical forces. For example, Schefold (1997: 6) claimed that the “physical and social forces (such as climatological or ecological conditions, available materials, technical knowledge and the role of the local form of economy) are more like some kind of constraining rather than determining [factors]; they facilitate and make possible or impossible certain solutions, but never decide form”. But, as Grandmaison (1977: 95) indicated, history gives evidence that “the cultural framework has never managed to free itself completely from the natural constraints in which it exists”.

2.1.3.5. Historical

Another major line of the research in the traditional built form is from the work of historians (Benevolo 1980; Blumenfeld 1982; Kostof 1991; Kostof 1992; Morris 1994), who tried to approach the city from the point of the historical process and architectural styles linked to the contents (socio-economic) of the process of development.

In the view of Benevolo (1980), who conceptualised city formation as the result of an historical need, the main factors of changes lie in the essence of productive organisation that transformed everyday life and on each occasion led to a sharp rise in population.

For Blumenfeld (1982: 51) the city can be envisaged as a “historical process” within which its built form results from three parameters; “the first from the interaction of **situation**,

function, and **site**; the second from the concepts in the minds of its citizens [notion of community] and from the types of structure they built, both derived from pre-urban roots (leading type); and the third from the reaction of these on situation, function, and site, and on subsequent human activity”.

Morris (1994) focuses on the concepts of “planned” and “organic”³ cities to derive the determinants of the physical form of the towns and cities in the respect of the “politics of planning”. His approach was descriptive of the urban “morphological component parts” to conceptualise the factors affecting urban form (Madanipour 1990: 12). In this regard, he recognised two origins for urban form determinants: the “geographical natural-world attributes of the location of settlements which are, basically, climate, topography and available construction material”, and the “man-made determinants” which comprise the acts of man in the natural settlement processes regarding the primary motivating forces in the generation of urban forms: trade, political and social power, and religion (Morris 1994: 10).

From the point of Kostof (1991: 8), who conceptualises a form with the “precise cultural conditions that generated it”, urbanism is a process in which “a city’s physical frame adjusted to changing exigencies”. From this point of view, the built form and its process of formation must be pursued through the “people”, “forces” and “institutions” that bring it about, determinants of the built form over a given period of time; this is based on his definition of the city as “one of the most remarkable human artefacts and human institutions” (Kostof 1991: 40). This means exploring three main questions - “who designs the city?, what procedures do they go through?, and what are the empowering agencies and laws?” - in order to probe the process aspect of city formation and consider the nature of content to explain elements of built form. This means “the social premises of the designers” (Kostof 1991: 11). Therefore, he recognised the history of urban form as a “design quarry”.

To sum up, Kostof’s view implies that the built form can be conceived as a process approach, rather than seeing it as a “finite thing”, a “closed thing”, and that it is conditioned by many factors (Kostof 1991) in which man’s conditions and desires play an important role. This suggests that the history of built form is “a history of man shaping space” (Pevsner

³ The planned city urban form is the product of one particular time and a set of particular determinants. While unplanned urban form is realised over a period of time and in accordance with changes in determinants (Ozaslan 1996: 124, 125). For this reason, the process of formation is a major notion of unplanned cities which reveals the action of time and changes in determinants.

1943 quoted in Roth 1993: 45). This notion can be perceived from the following words of Nicias to Athenian soldiers:

You are yourself the town, wherever you choose to settle... it is man that makes the city, not the walls and ships without them (quoted in Rykwert 1999: 23).

2.1.3.6. Typological and phenomenological

In the approach of historians, one may look at the work of Rossi (1982) and Norberg-Schulz (1980). Both viewed the traditional built form as a work of art due to the essence of relatedness of reciprocal meaning among things. This connotes that the formation of a city is more than an assemblage of pieces, and the manner and pattern of the articulation parts can be depicted and understood within its process of formation.

For Rossi (1982: 40), the historical process must be followed from the point of view of typological studies because “the type⁴ is something that is permanent and complex, a logical principle that is prior to form and that constitutes it”. This implies “the mutual relationship between building typology and urban morphology” (Ozaslan 1998: 257) in such a way that “typology acts as a mediating tool for formal analysis of the city” (Bandini 1992: 158). In line with the historical process, he also referred to the geographical situation of the cities and stressed that, “without both we cannot understand the [built] form that is the physical sign of human [beings]” (Rossi 1982: 97).

In the Islamic urban form, typological studies mostly concern the courtyard structure, the basic cellular unit, as a fundamental space that underlies most private and public buildings (Assi 2000; Bianca 2000). Its importance as a symbol of enclosure of space in Islamic civilization and a perfect response to the living conditions of both natural and social environments was so great that “it becomes a timeless prototype of vernacular architecture in most geographical regions of the Muslim world” (Belkacem 1982, cited in Good 2002;

⁴ The typological approach mainly concentrates on the “leading type” to derive how this (a kind of type) has evolved, and been modified and refined in existing houses “through time in significant intervals that are called phases” (Rossi 1982: 62). In this regard, Domeing (1997) claimed that in each distinguishable area the traditional settlement type derives from a common prototype. This means that the typology is a process in which we can trace the changes of a type through time and try to do a diachronic process in order to recognise the intrinsic values of phenomenon; therefore “it become an apparatus, an instrument for analysis and measure”(Rossi 1982: 7).

Bianca 2000: 55, 56). Further explanations are brought forward in the section on the concept of the Islamic city.

Norberg-Schulz views the image of the traditional city in terms of its symbolic meanings and its relationship with the structure of nature. From this position, he followed the phenomenological approach in order to describe the *Genius loci* of place “as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and man-made environment”. His work can, to some extent, be compared with the work of Kevin Lynch as he also followed the same gestalt psychological theory in order to define the character of places on the ground and their existential meanings for the people by emphasising three abstract concepts: centre, path and domain. He tried to conceptualize these three concepts in relation to nature. For this reason, he mainly emphasised the structure of nature as the basis for man’s orientation and his existential situation in general. For him:

The socio-economical conditions are like a picture-frame; they offer a certain space for life to take place, but do not determine its existential meanings (Norberg-Schulz: 1980: 6). [This means that] architectural forms are conditioned by a preordained place in which nature participates. Thus, architecture is not a result of the action of man, but rather it renders concrete the world that makes those actions possible (Norberg-Schulz 2000: 45).

From the above perspective, he claimed that “there are not different kinds of architecture, but only different situations which require different solutions in order to satisfy man’s physical and psychic needs” (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 5). This background led him to conceptualise three different built environments (Romantic, Cosmic and Classical) in accordance with the character of place which evidently got its orientation from the man’s understanding of nature. His notion of the cosmic built environment is largely in line with Islamic architecture, especially the architecture of the desert areas in the Muslim world.

In the notion of cosmology in the religion of Islam, as Haider (1988: 73) stresses, “no fact is free of an ethical dimension and no domain escapes connection with the sacred”. Generally, this means that Islam is a God-directed social order, thus, its architecture needs to be in line with God’s beauty. This beauty was preferred to be manifested internally due to the sacred dimension of life within the structure of Muslim’s family. For Norberg-Schulz (1980, 2000) such hidden character of Islamic architecture is mainly from the geographical circumstances

of the desert which forced it to possess inward-looking structure in order to express defiance to an uninhabitable environment. As Ibn Khaldun suggested:

This is because man has the natural disposition to reflect upon the outcome of things. Thus, it is unavoidable that he must reflect upon how to avert the harm arising from heat and cold by using houses which have walls and roofs to intervene between him and those things on all sides (quoted in Petherbridge 1984: 201).

In contrast, the geographical situation of the north created a form of outward-looking character responding to the beauty of the surrounding landscape and climate conditions. Considering this point, and based on the view of Dubos, we can also look at the tropical forests, where “various groups of pre-industrial people developed open types of dwellings, so oriented as to receive maximum ventilation from the winds and a minimum of isolation” (Dubos 1973: 201).

Those points mentioned are witness statements which clarify the importance of the physical environment in shaping the built form of the traditional city, and in leading the view of Norberg-Schulz to lay more emphasis on nature and understate other factors, and, thus, to be snared into the criticism of environmental determinism. For example, the structure of courtyard houses was perceived by him mainly in connection with the geographical situation of the desert areas rather than the ideology of Islam concerning visual privacy. This structuring element of Islamic cities can be observed in most parts of the Islamic world with different geographical situations even in mountainous areas with heavy snowfall like Kabul in Afghanistan and the case study selected for this research, the city of *Sanandaj*.

2.1.3.7. Morphological

In parallel to the historical, we can look at the morphological approach which partly shared the basic concerns of the historical approach but also borrows from geography, because the building fabric was recognised by Baker and Slater (1992: 43) in depicting the urban form as “the most visually obvious carrier of historical information in townscape”. This approach is a usual one in urban geography which mostly emphasises the physical quality of urban landscape identifiable in the plan or layout of a city composed of streets or channels of movements, plots or blocks of space or structure, and individual buildings (Herbert 1972: 64).

It was the early concern of geography in studying the urban form of traditional cities to study the visible forms of built environment in the frameworks of townscape components; “street-plan or layout, architectural style of buildings and their design, and land use” (Herbert 1982: 12). This means “a description of the forms of an urban artefact” (Rossi 1982: 32). These early studies were mainly concerned to trace and characterise the urban historical growth phases and their classification, through maps and other historical records, and to understanding and uncovering the process which had led to this form. This was developed by Conzen (1969) as a special technique in urban morphology in order to explain the individual components of the city and ascribe them to periods and modes of development. From this point of view, the town plan analysis included “concepts which were explicitly process rather than pattern-oriented” (Herbert 1982: 13), “understanding the mutual interaction of form and process through the interpretative approach” (O’Sullivan 2000: 85).

As mentioned earlier, morphological studies were criticized as being largely prescriptive and isolated from the context (Herbert 1982; Hall 1998), the new trend needed to be conditioned by or accompanied with other dimensions of the city, for instance the socio-economic. It promoted the concept of urban morphology in order to consider the form as a product of major process by actors and agencies. And it has led to new a definition of urban morphology as the study of the physical (or built) fabric of urban form, and the people and processes shaping it (Larkham and Jones 1991 quoted in Larkham 1998: 159). In the light of this trend, the morphological approach can be recognised as an integrated approach which links the studies of built form, the process of articulation (historical concern) and its spatial arrangement, to the context of which it is a part. The study (especially the historical analysis) can benefit from this approach, it is more a technical view concerning the physical and economical dimensions of the built form, thus, still lacking the social dimension of the city, especially its cultural parameter which was recognised as an important factor in the traditional city (Ozaslan 1998; Bianca 2000).

2.1.4. *The approach of the research*

In the above review of approaches to the urban form of traditional cities, we have tried to give an overview of the most important approaches to the built form, especially the traditional one. Each emphasised some aspects of the built form at the expense of others. As Madanipour (1996: 33) indicated, this is from the nature of built form which comprises both the realms of the physical and the social and a multi-dimensions background. Apart from this,

the review has made clear that there is a shared notion among them concerning the process of making the city and the relatedness of both the social and the physical components. This implies that the built environment does not “simply appear overnight, like a movie-set springing up on a vacant lot, but has to be produced”. (Hall 1998): 13). Thus, the first notion in dealing with such an environment is considered to be the tracing of time in the evaluation of the city and keeping in mind that the whole is more than its parts. The last point becomes naturally understood when the process of city building is probed; because the notion of process in itself comprises the relatedness among the socio-cultural events that resulted in urban artefacts. This also means considering a large number of factors, especially socio-cultural ones, involved in this process. By doing this, we can relate the physical environment with the social, “relating the world of artefacts with the world of people” – who built and used them (Madanipour 1996: 88), “hence its rationale and its determinants will be identified” (Madanipour, 1990). Therefore, the design principles of traditional built form can be derived from the production process of its built form – “the way its structure was actualized” by many factors over the course of time – because these principles (as socio-spatial qualities) lie in the way its fabric was assembled (Ozaslan 1998: 257).

The notions mentioned above lead us to the approach of Madanipour (1996: 62), who distilled all viewpoints into a new one, a “socio-spatial” concept of the built form, comprising two main dimensions (physical and social) of the built form with their complexity. As he conceptualizes it, the physical dimension implies the built spatial units, both single buildings and groups, in the context of natural space. And, the social dimension deals with “spatial arrangements and interrelationships of the characteristics of the people, who built, use and value the urban fabric”. He continues to say that, due to the dynamic relationships between these two interrelated dimensions of the built form,

a study of built form therefore refers to the way physical entities, singly or in a group, are produced and used, their spatial arrangements, and their interrelationships, and also how monetary and symbolic values are attributed to them (Madanipour 1996: 33).

This can be recognized as an approach which aims to consider a balance between two major lines of other approaches, those which focus on the physical environment (both natural and man made) and those which focus on the social environment (political, economical and cultural). The only problem is in relation to the scope of this approach which mainly deals with contemporary development of urban process and form, as an outcome of the modern world. Considering the nature of traditional environments, where its “ritualistic and political

importance⁵ far outweighed its economic function” (Sjoberg 1960; Bergman and McKnight 1993; Bianca 2000), the behaviour of individuals (the main factors of an industrial city) and that it was more bound to the physical environment of nature than the industrial city, we shall highlight three lines of inquiry within the socio-spatial approach to point the way forward in considering the main aim and questions of the research.

1. Because the main scope of the research, deals with the traditional core of the city before overall modernisation in the Iranian context, the main line of the research can be recognised as being in the realm of the historian. The preferred approach is Kostof’s inquiry into urban form, namely; who designs the city?, what procedures do they go through?, and what are the empowering agencies? In order to make clear the process of the city’s evolution, the morphological approach, the basic concern of the historian, helps to draw the phases of development in both realms the city and the selected quarter. This is possible when the interplay of different factors is considered within morphological studies.
2. As the study tackles an urban form with a particular socio-cultural background within the Iranian context, it is not free of the social and cultural values of that context and seeks to identify mainly the features of Kurdish culture which resulted in the distinctive character of urban form within the wider context of Iranian cities. For the content dimension of built form, we rely on the ideas of Rapoport (1977), especially his analytical techniques to depict the socio-cultural values embedded in the features of the urban form.
3. In addition, as the research deals with the shaping design principles of the selected built form, especially its physical configuration and arrangement, it also made use of the townscape approach as part of formal analysis alongside analytical techniques to interpret urban form composition and its spatial values.

⁵ As Sjoberg (1960) pointed out, in the pre-industrial city political and religious activities were dominant over other activities inasmuch as the location of the main market was bound to the religious and political structures. Based on this condition, the skyline of these cities, especially in city centres, was dominated by the features of political and religious activities. For the importance of the political dimension of the city, we can take the views of Iban Khaldun, who recognised a strong correlation between the life of the city and its dominant political power (the life of the dynasty).

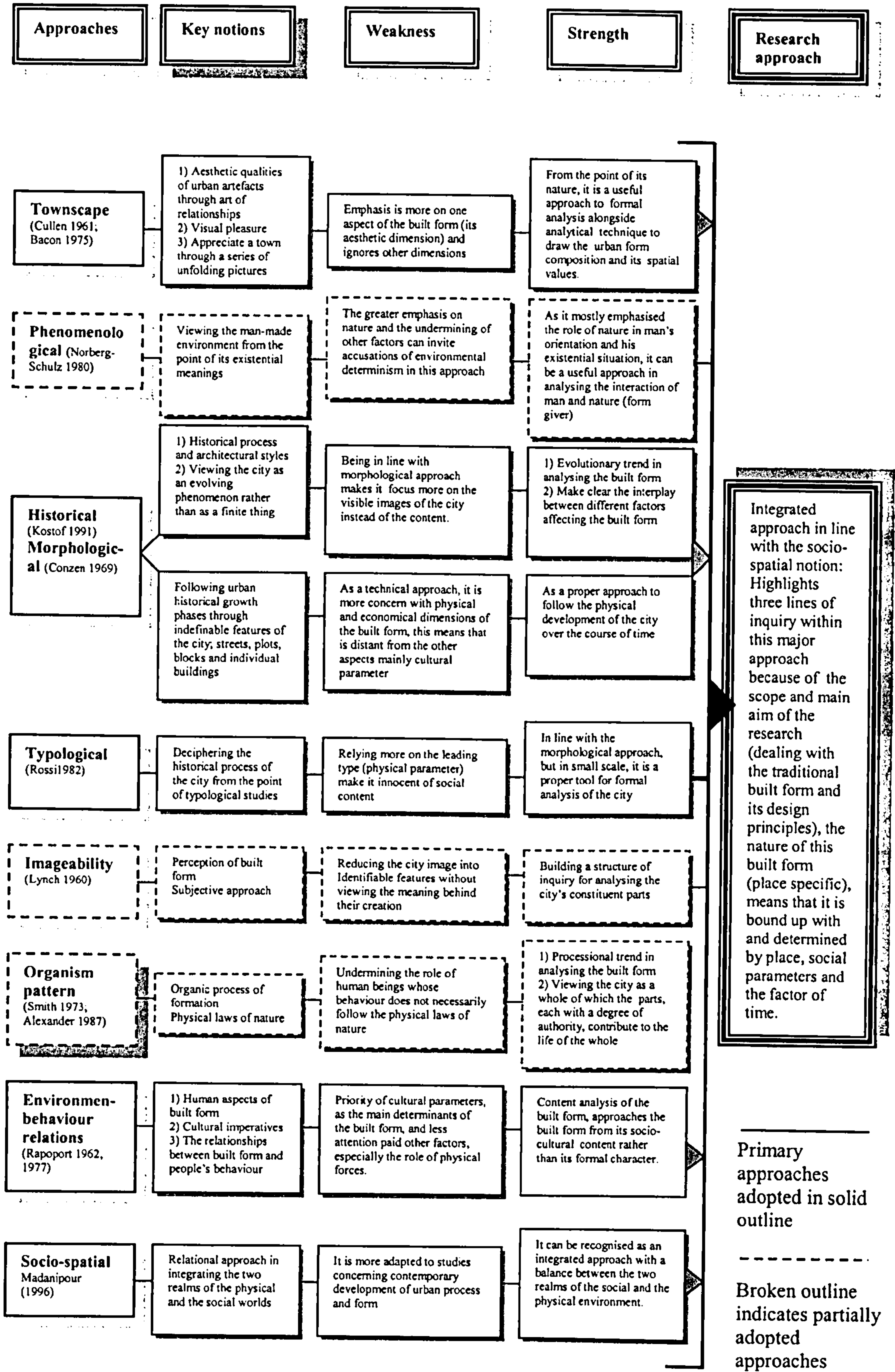


Figure 2. 2. Summary of the research approach adopted in the literature review

In summary, the above points clarify three lines of the research which begin from the historical evolution of the city, move to the content of this evolution leading to the physical form. This means that the research approaches the selected built form from its socio-cultural content interrelated with its formal character.

As stated, the traditional built form is highly place specific. From this point of view, the study, however, would not be complete, especially before defining the research methodology, unless it studied the contexts within which the city can be defined. These are the concept of the Islamic city in a broad sense, the traditional Iranian city and its evolution in different time scales and – in case of *Sanandaj* – the features of the Kurdish city within the contexts of both Iranian and Kurdish culture. In the following sections, the two first contexts will be examined in order to find their manners of space organisation and the major concepts influencing that organisation. Conceptualisation of these two contexts makes clear the point of departure to the methodology and later to the third context, Kurdish culture and the selected built form. This means that the third context will be examined alongside the discussion concerning the city and quarter selected as the case study of the research.

2.2. The Traditional Islamic City

After examining the different approaches to the traditional built form and channelling them into particular approaches appropriate to the scope of the research, we will continue by reviewing the literature on the underlying shaping factors of the Islamic city's urban form as the major context of the selected built form. Its importance and its relation to the main aim of the research, can be seen from Hakim (1990), who considered that, recognising the motivational factors is a main way to conceptualise the principle of a city's configuration. This is also what Bianca (2000) stresses as a point of departure to uncovering these principles.

Here using the concept of the Islamic city does not mean that there is a model within which the city can be defined for different regions with diverse cultural backgrounds. The entire basis of this concept, widely seen in western scholarship as the so-called orientalist tradition, has been criticized⁶ by some scholars (Hourani 1970; Kuban 1983; Alsayyad 1996; Abu-Lughod 1993 cited in Stewart 2001) because it was conceptualised based on "its

⁶ Similar to this notion, we can refer to the view of Sjoberg (1960), especially his generalisation about the model of the pre-industrial city, which was criticized by some scholars (Wheatley 1963, Cox 1964 cited in Scargill 1979).

juxtaposition with its European counterpart” (Alsayyad 1991: 16), and, thus, lacked an institutional awareness of Islam and the socio-cultural and environmental circumstances of the context within which each city can be defined. Here our concern is to look at the different views and ideas about this city in order to identify the major concepts underlying its structure. These concepts can make points of inquiry in the analysis of the selected case study.

2.2.1. Shaping factors of the Islamic city and underlying design principles

In considering the above concept, we first review the trends and ideas concerning the evolution of the Islamic city concept and then, by further consideration of the concept and recent arguments, the main underlying factors of the Islamic city’s built form are conceptualised. Due to the date of *Sanandaj*’s foundation (1639), some of the discussions may not be relevant to the case under investigation. They are discussed as a background to the Islamic city to narrow the view to those ideas which are applicable in the selected case.

2.2.1.1. Political motivations

The first trend concerning the notion of the Islamic city was mainly initiated by European scholars influenced by Orientalism (Marcais brothers 1928 & 1940, Jean Sauvaget 1934 & 1941 and Roger LeTourneau 1945 quoted in Alsayyad 1996: 91, 92), who developed the concept of centrality in city formation (the city was centred around a Friday mosque, a nearby market, and a series of public baths with ethnic segregation in residential areas where the labyrinthine pattern of streets was dominant over their spatial relationships) by referring to political motivations. In the view of this group, as Alsayyad (1996: 95) points out, the centrality is the outcome of “centralized authority”. As explained, this line of the research was criticized by many scholars as it failed to take account of the distinctions of the cities based on time, place and function (Hourani 1970). As Hourani (1970: 10, 11) explains, Islamic cities can be found in different part of the world: “in Spain and north Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, and the Indian sub-continent”. For this reason and several time scale of cities’ life, “we cannot expect that urban life should have taken the same form in all these regions” as each of which comprised different “national character” due to different inherited habits and traditions, various environmental and commercial systems. Apart from this, as they mostly tried to compare the features of the Islamic city with the European one, they paid attention to the formal qualities of the city, the form instead of the process, at the expense of deep analysis of the process of evolution and socio-spiritual principles underlying its urban form aggregation. Considering this, they

claimed that the structure of the Islamic city is a kind of “anarchic maze” (De Planhol 1970: 455) because it was structured with a broad irregularity in sharp contrast with “the beautiful orderliness of ancient towns” (Madanipour 1998: 230). This irregularity and negation of urban form, as they claimed, imply “the anti-institutional influence of Islam” to any corporate organisation within the state. This line of approach led them to view the Islamic city as a collection of unorganised quarters which “took their basic solidarity from the pervasive violence and insecurity” among different ethnic and religion groups (Southall 1998: 224, 229).

The entire notion of this model is also criticised alongside discussion concerning the case under investigation which reveals some particular features distinguishable from other Islamic cities due to the socio-cultural and environmental context which the city was bound up with and determined by them.

2.2.1.2. Social explanation

In social explanations of the city’s urban form, we can first look at the work of Lapidus (1967), who concentrated on the urban structure of three major Muslim cities – Aleppo, Cairo, and Damascus – during the *Mamluk* era, in order to derive the underlying forces. In this attempt, he recognised that in the structure of Muslim cities there was a system of “subsidiary groups – namely, the military elites, the *Ulamâ* or religious leaders, and the local notables and merchants” – which managed and maintained the society without its possessing a particular administrative system like the European model. From this it was conceived that “the urban form was the outcome of interaction between these subsidiary groups” (Alsayyad 1996: 93). As Lapidus (1967: 185) stresses, the intrinsic action of this system originated from the extensive role of *Shari’a* in all communal concerns leading to “one unspecialised stratum for the performance of judicative and administrative roles essential to the maintenance of society”. This means that “an Islamic way of life was regulated and institutionalized by a religio-legal body of [community] notables, securing a degree of law and order in all aspects of civil and criminal matters” (Nasser 2003: 78, 79) which led to a substantial degree of internal self-government without recourse to external regulatory agents.

For Madanipour (1998: 237) the solidarity of groups across the quarters arises mainly from “family ties, clientage, common village origin, ethnic or sectarian religious identity and some cases common occupation” so that they clustered around a modest mosque to conduct their

spiritual and secular affairs. At the macro-scale of the city, these geographical entities were unified by the large Friday mosque as the main focus of the community in general. Bianca (2000: 9) conceptualised this process as “cultural coherency” crystallized by “a set of ritualized patterns of human behaviour which embraced all aspects of daily life, on the individual as well as the collective level, permeating man’s activities with constant reference to an acknowledged religious truth”. For example, frequently praying together reinforces social cohesion leading to a sense of communal identity. This made the Islamic city sustainable in the absence of a particular system of city management (Browne 1976). Therefore, the logical point of this social explanation, is that in the traditional Islamic city the organisation of the population, according to the rules already mentioned, had created homogeneous communities in the quarters (each of which was bound by Islamic law which resulted in their unity through conventions) which were closely knit to such an extent that they governed their affairs as self-reliant entities, without recourse to more formal organs of government. Consequently, “the decisions were made from the bottom up by those who experienced the place, not by the authority’s governors” (Akbar 1988) who were not concerned about interrelationship between the neighbourhoods.

As Alsayyad (1996) reports, in the above trend some scholars like Akbar (1988) and Hathloul (1992) tried to make a bridge between the socio-cultural parameters rooted in Islamic law (derived from holy *Koran* and *Sunna*, sayings of the Prophet) and *Urf* (the custom of a given society), and the settlements’ layouts and resolving urban conflicts and building disputes. For instance, Akbar (1988) argued that the conventions, rooted from unity among neighbourhoods (unity is the outcome of people’s homogeneity due to the essence of tribal organisation and the notions of Islamic law), are a main force in controlling the built environment in the traditional city. It applied more in relation to the shared spaces, such as dead-end streets. For him, the shared responsibility, which had created a territorial organisation at the level of neighbourhoods, was an important point of the traditional Islamic city as it maintained the city up to beginning of modernisation which led to the breakdown of this system (Akbar 1993).

2.2.1.3. Philosophical inspiration

Within this trend, the features of Islamic city were conceptualised through philosophical inspiration from the practice of Sufism. In this line of the research, the idea of centrality, in contrast to the first group, is seen in relation to the concept of oneness in Islam which is

expressed, in a broad sense, by the facing toward Mecca for daily prayers and “affects in a practical manner the construction of cities’ built form to grasp wholeness/unity in diversity. Thus, the unity is recognised as a major sociological force for the “centripetal organisation of space and space usage” (Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973). As Hossein Nasar (1971 in the Foreword to Ardalan and Bakhtiar’s book: xii) points out, what we can observe is that the concept of space and form in the mosque is the same as in a house or bazaar, “for the space in which traditional man has always lived is the same wherever he happens to be”.

2.2.1.4. The Socio-spatial trend in the concept of the Islamic city

Within this trend, we can first look at the notion of Morris (1994), especially the third edition of his book where he realigned the argument from morphological studies of urban form in general to the notion of the Islamic city, and narrowed his view to the content of the Islamic city in order to identify the main determinants of its built form. For him, the determinants of the Islamic city can be divided into two main categories: **original determinants**, which comprise the general factors of the *natural world* (topography, climate and construction material) and *man-made* (“pre-Islamic traditions in various spheres of life including building practice”), and **later determinants** defined as urban guidelines in the city building processes directed by the Islamic law “rooted from the holy *Koran* and sayings of Prophet” (Hakim 1986): 12). This view deriving from Morris is noticeable in the work of other scholars. For example, Hakim (1986: 12) in his book, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles*, was aware of pre-Islamic building principles and claimed that various aspects of them were “absorbed and modified and emerged with a distinct Islamic character”. This is what we can also find in the work of Bianca (2000: 67):

There is, at least for some regions, the common basis of the Roman-Hellenistic building tradition, already orientalized in the context of Byzantine, *Parthian* and *Sassanian* cultures and brought to a new synthesis by Muslim craftsmen and architects.

Of the **later determinants**, Islamic law was seen as having priority in shaping the built form of the Islamic city and its overriding tendency toward wholeness/unity. This effect of Islamic law was such that it assimilated the various inherited elements from other cultures under the “spiritual parameters” without losing its identity. Considering this point, Bianca (2000: 136) believes that Islam with its “highly ritualised daily living pattern” absorbed the pre-Islamic urban structure of Roman-Hellenistic and *Sâssânian* into a “novel urban civilisation”.

In considering the later determinants, we can also look at the view of Saleh (1998c: 541), who proposed two concepts: **immutable factors**⁷ comprising the role of Islamic law - *Shari'a* law - and **mutable ones**⁸ including the customary laws - *Urf* - and environmental forces. As he views it, the interaction between these two main factors resulted in a particular urban form for each Islamic land. In this interaction Islamic law was recognised as the base for interpreting the *Urf*⁹ and its application. "Its implementation is acceptable as long as it does not contradict Islamic principles". Thus, "the resulting body of religious and social customs became instrumental in shaping the social identity within the whole Muslim *Umma*" (denotation for the community of Muslims, that is, the totality of all Muslims) and preserving the character of local conditions (Bianca 2000: 26). This means that, on the one hand, the diffusion of Islamic values was characterised by unity, but on the other hand, the recognition of local vocabulary by *Shari'a* law developed the concept of diversity in all Islamic lands, "a condition that opens up possibilities for more colourful display of distinct regional expressions" (Alhasani 1996: 36). As Hakim (1986: 12) indicates, this diversity in the traditional built forms of Islamic lands "did occur owing to modifying influences of micro-climates, economic conditions, available building materials and localized stylistic approaches and influences".

In parallel with the view of Morris, but deeply involved in the structural approach to the socio-cultural values inherent in the Islamic city's urban form, we can look at the work of Bianca (2000: 136)¹⁰, who divided the main underlying shaping forces of urban form in the Islamic city into two distinct categories: **external** and **internal factors**. In his view, the former factors include "pre-existing settlements, deliberate locational choices (this comprises the importance of geographical considerations in cases of trade routes, the availability of natural resources and in some cases the religious significance of certain places) and prevailing dynamic evolution and changes". The internal forces comprise the "morphological principles implied in architectural components and in genesis of the urban fabric components" which is deeply rooted in human attitudes as non-material qualities emerging

⁷ Immutable factors are restricted to the religious requirements of Islam as interpreted by Muslim scholars and jurists.

⁸ Mutable factors include *Urf*, political, climatic, geographic, geological, technological and economic factors.

⁹ *Urf* is a habit or a way of doing things that is constantly repeated, and which settles well and is accepted by people considered of good character (Ali Haider quoted in Hakim 1994: 109).

¹⁰ In line with the notion of the Islamic city, the view of Bianca can be criticized as he mainly emphasised the urban form in the Arab world. As the notion of traditional Islamic city urban form has been evolved by contribution of other cultures, it is a limited view to define that concept within the context of Arab world.

through material expressions. In the internal factors, he referred mainly to the action of the spiritual and social dimensions of Islam (through the role of *Shari'a* law and basis of customary law, *Urf*), crystallized in the actions in the individual and the community realms, which integrated the city's components "under one roof" like a "coherent single mansion" (Bianca 2000: 146). The point here is that, Islamic architecture and urban design has distinguished itself as it "combined physical and spiritual values in an integrated" whole (Elaraby 1996: 138).

2.2.2. Summary of points relating to the Islamic city

Considering the above review, it is possible to understand how the formation of the design concepts of the Islamic city is closely bound up with Islamic cultural values and beliefs. These are mainly rooted in the essence of the Islamic law (the holy *Koran* and the *Sunna* – the main source of the Islamic law and its cultural values) which regulates all aspects of the lives of Muslims. This is why the religion of Islam was recognised as a way of life, as more than just a spiritual faith, and its "settlement has been called the civilisation of the book" (Elaraby 1996: 139). From this point, the realisation of the Islamic law can be traced in all levels and in all contexts of the built form, which resulted in a particular spiritual dimension with a thoroughly religious character for the Islamic city.

Apart from those general notions, the work discussed has made clear that we no longer can rely on the notion of the Islamic city as a typical one for all Islamic lands because each region has different natural and socio-cultural circumstances which require particular approaches. It was also made clear that the notions concerning the Islamic city are in line with those in previous sections, and the major approach of the research, that the traditional city is highly place specific and its shaping principles need to be conceived from **natural laws** expressed through weather conditions and topography, **religious and cultural beliefs** and **social principles** (social organisation of the urban society). These principles can make points of reference for the research analysis, especially for making comparisons of the selected case study and the wider context of Islamic cities.

After summarising those points, we now move on to the important concept of privacy¹¹ within the Islamic context which concerns the distinction between male and female social spheres, and which had a major role in the treatment of the Islamic city's urban form, in making sense of the manner of space organisation and hopefully will provide a guiding concept in examining the selected case study

2.2.3. The concept of privacy

As Al-Kodmany (2000: 285) states, "Islam gave a particular preference to residential privacy as essential to a refined life of goodness and purity". To some extent, it was recognised as a key factor in the organisation of space, and especially "the delineation between public and private spheres" across the city's quarters and even in the arrangement of space within the dwellings and its relationship with the space outside (Abu-Lughod 1983; Madanipour 1998; Memarian and Brown 2003; Stewart 2001: 177). The importance of this concept was recognised in Iranian architecture in line with social concepts of *Mahram* and *Nâ-Mahram*¹² which contextualised the thresholds of interaction between male and female in the social structure of the city (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2001). The non-verbal manifestation of spatial concepts can be observed in the structure of the houses, especially the houses of wealthy people and notables, within which the multi-courtyard structure defined two separate parts of the house: one is *Andaruni* (inside), which defines private sphere and second is *Biruni* (outside), the public realm. In line with these concepts, some of the houses, especially large ones, were equipped with two courtyards in order to increase the sense of privacy by separating the quarters of men from those of women.

From the above points, the concept of privacy can be recognised as a fundamental formula controlling the physical organisation of the Islamic city as it also led to the notion of "development from interior to exterior". This means that, the private domain (dwelling) got priority over the public spaces as it contained most aspects of life in its courtyard structure,

¹¹ As De Monteguín (1983: 48) indicated, a key to understanding the morphological characteristics and personality of the Islamic city is furnished by the revelations of the holy *Koran*, especially in the verses 4 and 5 of *Sura XLIX* (Chapter of the Holy *Koran*. In total the *Koran* consists of 114 *Suras*), whose meaning paraphrases as follows: the interior of your house is a sanctuary; those who violate it by calling you while you are in it do not keep the respect which they owe to the interior of heaven. They should be patient and wait until you leave your house, decency demands it; but God is all-forgiving, all-compassionate.

¹² ***Mahram***: People who are close, immediate family like brother, sister, father, mother, uncle, aunt, grandparents. *Mahram* people cannot marry each other (except husband and wife are married and *Mahram*). Thus, it is "the legal term denoting a relationship by blood, marriage or sexual union which makes marriage between persons so related forbidden" (Khatib-Chahidi 1981: 114). ***Nâ-mahram***: Male and female who are not close family are *Nâ-Mahram* to each other.

where the Muslim can “enjoy the pleasures of life in the open air and in strict seclusion” (Monteguín 1983: 48). The importance of the private domain can also be recognised in the ideas of Islam about the family unit as “the base of entire socio-cultural structure and a self-sustaining institution which ensures ideological and cultural stability over the entire spectrum of society” (Saleh 1998c: 541). Thus, preference was given to the inner rather than outer façades. The outside façades are normally blank with small openings above the eye level of the passer-by to prevent them from looking in. The only exception is the doorway which was usually decorated to indicate the habitation within. The entrance door was recognised as a primary element of the building’s elevation where the external façade was marked by elaborate decoration (Hakim 1994).

The interaction between public and private domains is usually by way of an access route with a tortuous and broken form through “successive hierarchical sections which herald increasing degrees of privacy” (Bianca 2000: 37). This led to the tri-fold organisation of space in which “the private realm is separated from the public by a semi-private space” (Cul-de-sac pattern), as a transitional passage between the spaces to create a protected area under the control of immediate neighbours, “outside the dwelling unit itself within which kin-like responsibilities (and freedom) govern” (Madanipour 1998: 243; Abu-Lughod 1983: 67). This formed the main space of communal socialization among women and children (Saleh 1997a: 171).

The desire for privacy even extended to the access route to the private realm to such an extent that a semi-private space was aligned with the entrance to the house in the form of a semi-vestibule, just before the entrance door, and a vestibule linked to a bent corridor intended to restrict the view from the outside and defining a transitional space between the interior and guest areas.

The strong desire for privacy meant that courtyard structure was well suited to Islamic physical and cultural needs, with “a high level of domestic privacy” and a main feature of “inward-facing rooms” (Memarian and Brown 2003: 188), and which is “shut off from its surroundings by high and solid walls” (Warren and Fethi 1982: 44). From this perspective, it was recognised as a symbolic value and timeless concept which conveys a microcosmic image of the order of the universe which responded ideally to the requirements of the Islamic social order (Petherbridge 1984: 201; Bianca 2000: 79). To some extent, its application was

observed even in the regions with heavy snowfall like “Kabul in Afghanistan” and our case study, where “heavy snowfall is experienced rendering this model inefficient and cumbersome for its users” (Hakim 1994: 126).

As explained, the main point of privacy principles is to control social interaction between the sexes. Islamic law requires that “sexual and emotional activities should be centred on the family nucleus to consolidate family life and reduce social stress” and avoid possible societal disorder (Memarian and Brown 2003: 188). This means that the public space was recognised as completely unsafe for Muslim women and to some extent it had to be avoided by them, and the form of the city had to be structured in such a way that it minimized the contact between the two sexes outside the kin group (Abu-Lughod 1983).

Contrary to the arguments of some feminist writers, who claimed that cities, historically, were built without any reference to the role of women (Richter 1982 cited in Madanipour 1996), the logical consequence of the concept of privacy, as it mostly emphasised designs to protect women from the eyes of strangers and to create clear distinctions and hierarchical spaces, is to highlight the role and the character of women in the building of the Islamic city.

2.2.4. Comments

It is evident from the above that the concept of privacy is a ritualised and societal concept which has had a great influence on the built form of the Islamic city. Its diffusion throughout Islamic lands and its continuity from the pre-Islamic era made it a timeless and placeless concept transmittable to successive generations. Therefore, we can point out that, the core shaping forces underlying the Islamic city are based upon the concept of privacy and its ground rules (internalized structure based on constraints and thresholds), which emanated from Islamic law. This defined a particular urban form in all Islamic lands which differs greatly from that referred to as the Western model. Therefore, in contrast to the thinking of some orientalist scholars, we can recognise that Islamic settlements are neither fortuitous nor amorphous in their organisation, but they are expressions responding to patterns of social intercourse and allegiance particular to Islamic society (Petherbridge 1984: 195) and its natural context.

The logical consequence of the concept of privacy and its relevance to the selected case concerns the way this concept and its relevant features determine the organisation of space.

More importantly, to what extent it can be conceived in the selected case and, thus, its comparison with other Islamic cities. Considering these points, we can examine the attitudes to privacy in Kurdish culture concerning mainly the interaction between male and female outside of kinship groups, thus, the women's presence in the public domain, the notion of tri-fold organisation of space and how settlements treated the world of public spaces and thoroughfares.

2.3. The Traditional Iranian City

After reviewing the main points of the scholars concerning the Islamic city, especially the principles underlying its urban fabric aggregation, we are going to look at the specific context of which the city (*Sanandaj*) is a part. It is an important context because the process of city formation was mainly bound to the socio-political circumstances within which the Iranian city evolved, especially its concepts. Although, the Iranian city is a part of the Islamic city because they "owed their appearance above all to the influence of Islamic civilization" (De Planhol 1968: 437), as it possesses a long history of civilisation before the Islamic period and that its concepts diffused into the Islamic period and even influenced the concept of the city throughout the Islamic world¹³, so, it is necessary to look at the city in this context within the next section in order to conceptualise the evolution of the city structure and relevant concepts as another platform for analysis in the analysis section of the research. From this point, two main periods can be recognised; before and after Islam.

2.3.1. Pre Islamic concepts

The concept of the city was first defined in the period of the Median dynasty (728-550 BCE) (Habibi 1996), the dynasty which mostly corresponded to present-day Kurdistan was divided between four countries of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. As the first Iranian dynasty, it was recognised as the main ancestors of the modern Kurds (Hay 1921; Nezan 1996; Mardukh 2000, Tahiri 2004).

Yes, Kurds are the descendants of the Medes inasmuch as they contributed genetically and linguistically to the formation of what the Kurds are today. No, Kurds are not descendants of the Medes as their civilized ancestors were already in place when the Medes appeared, flourished, and ultimately disappeared (Izady 1994).

At the time of this dynasty, the city was structured in the form of mound cities (castellated city situated on a high mount) borrowed mainly from a typical Sumerian city (ziggurat

¹³ For example, as Hutt (1984: 251) argued, the eastern part of the Islamic world looks to the Persian language and culture for its inspiration.

structure) and the unique style of urban planning used by the civilised people present in the *Zâgros-Taurus* mountains ranges from before this dynasty (Izady 1992). As Izady (1992: 263) states, “The Assyrian bas relieves depicting Kurdish cities besieged by Assyrian forces, all show a basic design of the cities, built on hills with many (usually seven) concentric walls sectioning the city all the way to top of the hill, where the palace/temple is located”.

The structure described above is seen in the capital of Median dynasty (*Ecbâtânâ* now *Hamadân*) which was built on hills with multiple circular fortification walls as an expression of power, in both religious and administrative aspects, over the surrounding areas which it overlooked. As Habibi (1996) and Sultanzadeh (1986) indicate, during the Median dynasty, the political dimension of the city (as the place where power concentrated) far outweighed its economic importance. Apart from modern *Hamadân*, the signs of this type of city structure can be traced in other cities in the region such as *Arbil*, *Malâtya*, *Shâhâbâd*, and *Kirmânshâh* (Izady 1992: 121). More importantly, the features of this concept can again be discovered in the period which coincided with a massive influx of Turkic nomads in about the 12th century which led to the formation of castellated cities within the territory of the principality of *Ardalân* (1168-1639).

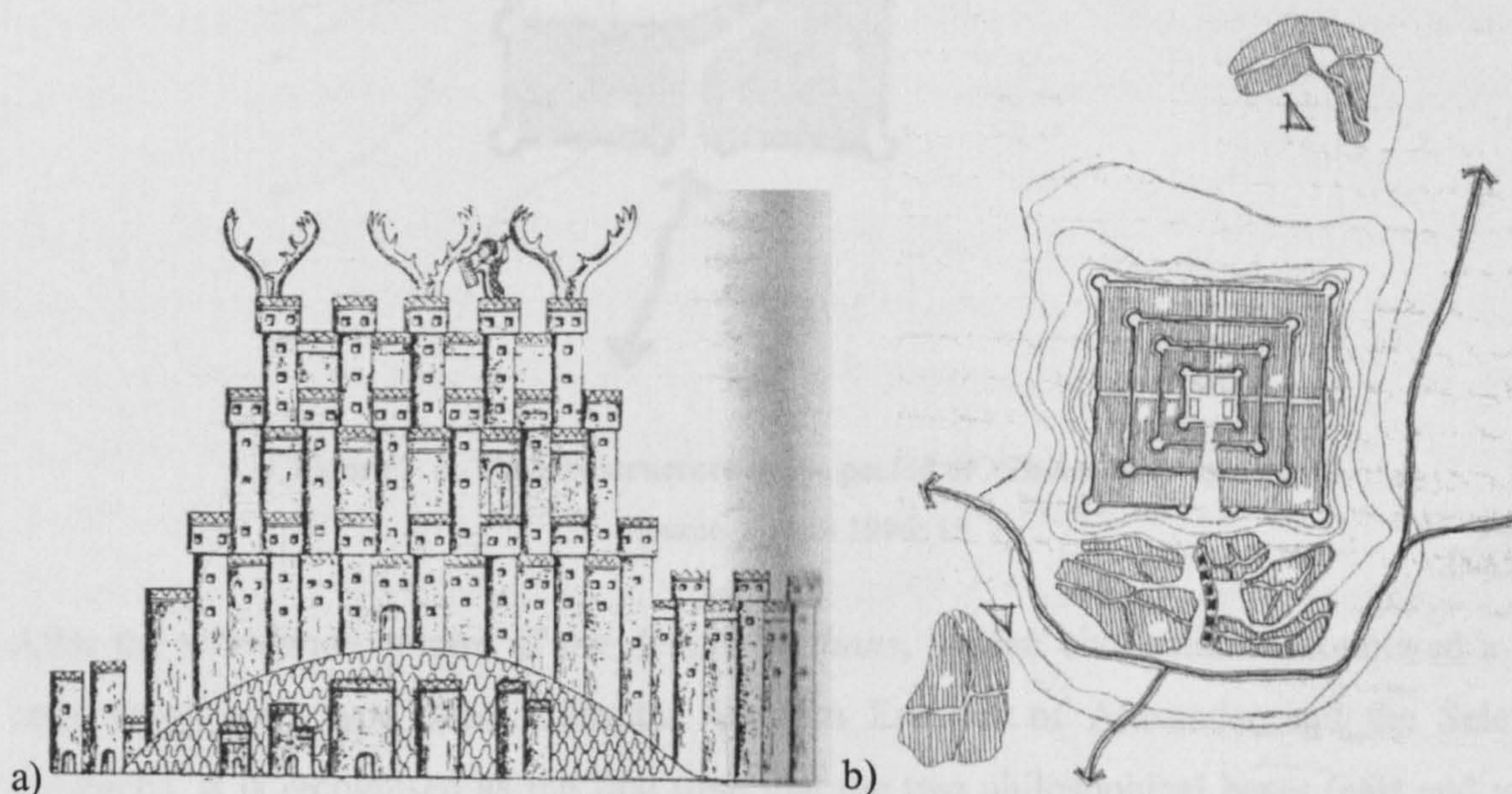


Figure 2. 3. The structure and image of Median city

Sources: a) from Sultanzadeh 1986: 69, b) from Habibi 1996: 8

The evolution of the Iranian city is to be seen in the city of the *Achaemenids* dynasty (559-330 B.C.), the greatest dynasty in the near east in that period. As the territory of this dynasty

expanded it came to rule over a vast area which comprised many countries. This resulted in commercial activities between different parts of the empire which led to the formation of cities along the trade routes. From this period onwards, the economic importance of the cities increased and the city contained the fixed element of a bazaar. Although, the city remained the place of power, as Habibi (1996) indicates, the city was transformed from its previous role to a new one which merged both the dimensions of power and commerce. Unlike earlier times, when both the Sumerian (with temple as the main location of power) and the Kurdish (both the temple and the royal palace formed the joint location of power) styles of urban planning existed within the Medians cities, now the source of power was focused mainly on the royal palaces. Instead of building on hills with concentric walls to highlight their power, the site of city was moved down to lower-lands but maintained a separation from the townspeople. This feature can be found in the ruins of *Persepolis* and *Pasargade* located in the centre of the Iranian plateau close to the modern city of Shiraz (Benevolo 1980).

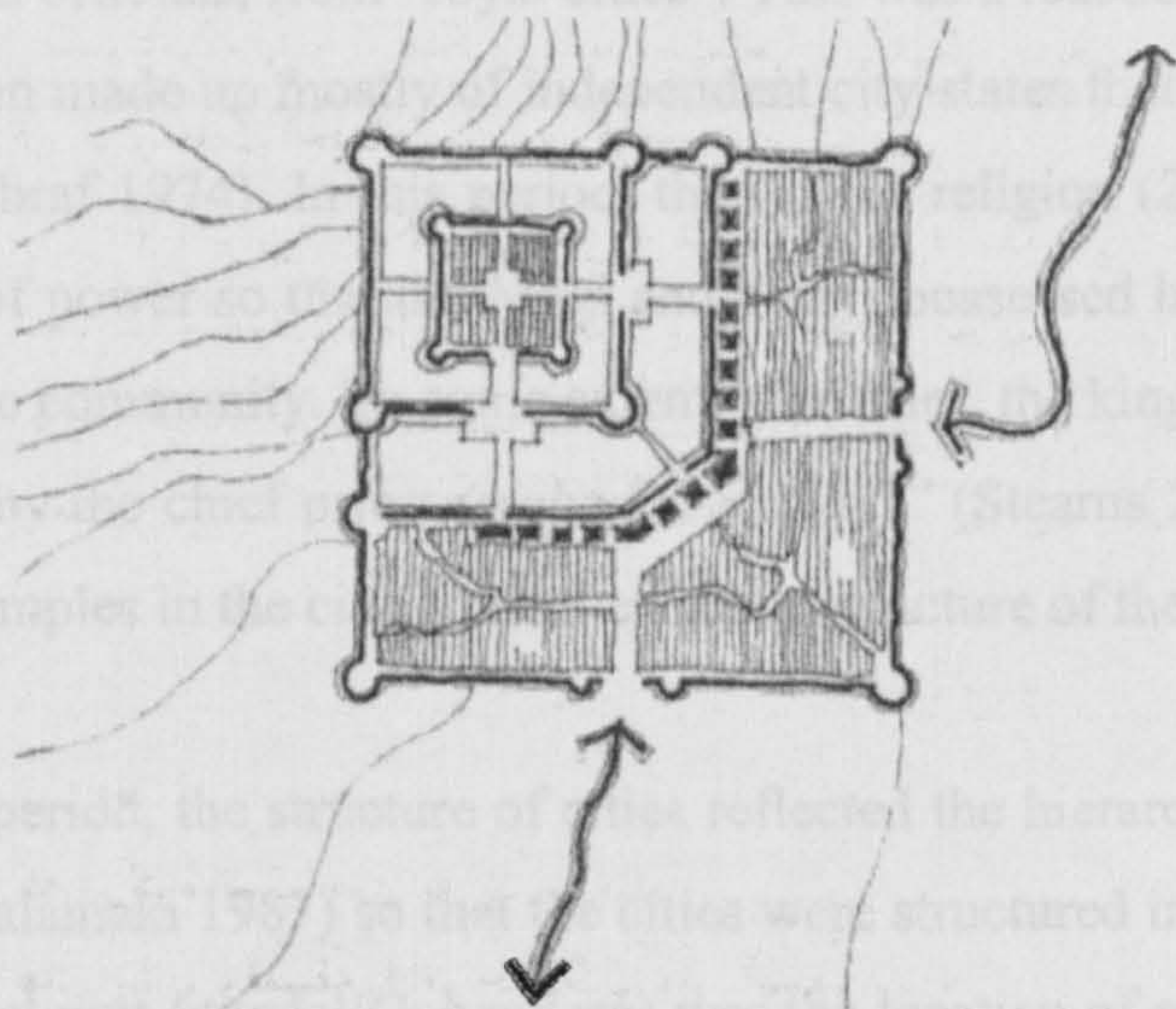


Figure 2. 4. The city structure in the period of *Achaemenids* dynasty

Source: Habibi 1996: 15

After the worldwide empire of the *Achaemenidians*, Iranian civilisation encountered a new concept of polis type cities from the Western Empires of Alexander and the Seleucid monarchs. It is recognised as the first time that the two philosophical bases (east and west) became intermingled and led to the formation of two concepts alongside each other, the power-city and the polis city. At that time, the successors of Alexander built many cities throughout the Iranian Empire, to serve as military camps to control the empire and to have access to other regions for trade activities. The design principles of these cities were based

on the rectangular form of ancient towns which had been used by Hippodamus (Gaube 1979).

After the period of Greek *Selucids* was ended by the *Pârthian* dynasty (247BC-224 AD), the old concepts of the city, especially those that the *Achaemenidians* and Medians generated, were gradually renovated but in the form of circular cities by maintaining a separation between the location of power on a raised area, and the city for the townspeople. This development means that period can be seen as a transitional one which implies a movement towards the Iranian traditionalism. Its highest achievement was witnessed in the period of the *Sâssânid* dynasty, the last great Iranian Empire before the advent of Islam.

The *Sâssânian* period (224-641 A.D.) was recognised as the greatest in Persian civilization because the country was again restructured based on the centrality of power and governed by state-appointed officials, from “royal cities”. This was a reaction against the previous periods which had been made up mostly of independent city-states that flourished under the Seleucid monarchs (Ashraf 1974). In this period, the role of religion (Zoroastrian) was prominent in the structure of power so that the Magi and clergy possessed high rank or class in the social structure of the community. To some extent, “the ruler, the king of kings, was chosen by God and crowned by the chief priest (*mobadan-mobad*)” (Stearns 2001). This led to widespread founding of temples in the cities and even in the structure of the city’s citadel (*Quhandezh*).

Through this period, the structure of cities reflected the hierarchy of class divisions between inhabitants (Falamaki 1987) so that the cities were structured into three distinct parts (Habibi 1996). The first part (citadel/*Quhandezh*) was the location of power built on a raised surface with fortified walls; the second part *Shârestân* (middle part) was recognised as the main part of the city which usually contained the ruling class, and the third – the “outer town” (Madanipour 1998) contained the quarters as places for commoners who were excluded from the four main classes of *Sâssânids* society: “priests, warriors, scribes and peasants” (Morgan 1988: 9). The vast regions under the control of this dynasty facilitated commercial activities with other countries such as; China, India, and Saudi Arabia. This led to the concept of the bazaar as it is now. The design principles of *Sâssânid* cities were mainly rooted in the ideology conceptualised by power relations focused on the king and the chief priest. In this view, the world was divided into four parts and the city had to be structured in such a way as

to convey that notion. Equally, the city usually contained four gates oriented to the cardinal points of the compass (Ashraf 1974; Habibi 1996).

From the above and in line with the following views of Izady (1991: 263), “the incoming Medes and other Indo-European-speaking people surely adapted from the ancient Kurds many vestiges of their art and culture”, we can hypothesise that the underlying concept of classical Persian cities was based on the typical notion of Kurdish style of urban planning and focused on mound/castellated cities with basic design features. The extent of this style needs more archaeological evidence and in particular research, which is outside the scope of this study. But the specific and convincing points are that this idea was again taken up by the *Pârthian*¹⁴ and continued by the *Sâssânian* dynasties after a long period of western domination (Greek *Selucids*) over the Iranian Empire, “especially in a classical hill-top palace complex in far southern Kurdistan (the *Qalâ Yazdigird*, the city of angles)” (Izady 1992: 264). More importantly, it was even seen in the Islamic period, after the Arab conquests, in the form of *Quhandezh* at the top of the city’s highest land overlooking the other parts of the city (this point will be discussed further in the next section). Furthermore, the extent of this style can be further examined alongside the historical background of the city, especially when the notion of mound cities again emerged with the massive influx of Turkic nomads to the west by about the 12th century.

2.3.2. Islamic period

When Islam conquered the *Sâssânid* dynasty in 637 A.D. there was a pause for more than two centuries in the evolution of the Iranian cities (Falamaki 1987): 8). New ideology, which was based on the Islamic notion of equality and justice, challenged the class stratification of the *Sâssânid*’s period which led to removal of strict class divides, especially between the city and the inhabitants of the rural areas. In this period, as the main concern of Arab conquerors was to widen their domination over the whole of Iran’s Empire, their construction policy was to change the function of fire temples to mosques and settle their troops in garrison camps in the suburbs of the existing towns, especially adjacent to the outer parts of the cities which were excluded from the main part because of the former strict class divide. From this point onward, in some cases, the suburb achieved priority over the main parts of the city

¹⁴ “An *Iranic* people like the Kurds, the *Pârthians* were in many ways similar to the Kurds, different from other *Iranic* peoples, like Persian, particularly in the laxness of their political rule” (Izady 1991: 35)

(*Shârestân*) as it attracted many people from rural areas because of the destruction of the former social structure.

In contrast to the earlier period, in some cases, the Arab's settling in the suburbs of the existing towns led to the development of this part and to the ruin of the main part, *Shârestân*. For example, as Estakhri (quoted in Sultanzadeh 1987: 96) says, the suburb of Ray¹⁵, which was known as *Rabaz* in the Islamic period, thrived at the expense of the *Shârestân*. This was a logical outcome of the breaking down of the rigid class divide of the *Sâssânid*'s period by creating the possibility of movement for people, especially from rural areas, towards cities. More importantly, as Ashraf (1974: 21) stresses, it was more due to the expansion of commercial activities, which happened from the ninth century onwards, and the fact that the place for these activities was in the suburbs of the existing cities, where the city development was directed by the Arab conquerors' new garrison camps. The suburb (*Rabaz*), therefore, became the main place for tradesman and craftsman of the city as it had for the migration of people from rural areas and from *Shârestân*.

Apart from the sharp distinction between Islam and *Sâssânid* ideology, as the features of the cities show, the city again was restructured based on the pre-concepts. This happened after first period of Islamic ideas, especially when the unity of politics and religion was gradually dissolved. The physical manifestation of this change can be seen in the history of the Friday mosque¹⁶, especially from the period of *Umayyads* dynasty (685-705) onward.

¹⁵ A residential area about ten kilometres south of Tehran.

¹⁶ As Ashraf (1974) indicates, in first stage, which comprises the period of Prophet and four caliphs, the mosque possessed a multi functional role with simple form and appearance. In spite of its religious role, it was also a place to state problems and a school for teaching, to depose and elect governors and Caliphs. This is the period which the Islamic Government was formed in the mosque and the mosque acted as a point of reference for convergence and unity of social groups "out of a heterogeneous" people groups (Ghannam 1997) due to the main notion of Islam about justice, equality and racial/tribal non-discrimination. For example, *Umar* (the second caliph 581-644), emphasised that there should be only one mosque for each settlement and that individual tribes must be prevented from building their own (Lapidus 1969). After this period, political power was separated from religion, creating another building (government court) adjacent to the Friday mosque, but also the mosque's architecture tended to have grand and monumental dimensions in order to convey the greatness of the Islamic Empire, especially in the period of Abbasids dynasty (750-1492). Continuation of this trend led to more separation giving rise to palaces with splendid appearances instead of being simple places of government. The above notions imply that the mosque had social and political roles in the initial period of Islam and, over the course of time it gradually came to be more expressly "identified with religious communities and less with political hierarchy". Therefore, it "echoes the development of the Islamic community from its early unity and close association of religious and secular political affairs to the emergence of the Muslim empires with regional and even world interests" (Lapidus 1969: 27, 23).

During the Abbasids dynasty (750-1492), the formation of local governments in captured countries (*Sâmânid*, *Tâhirid* and *Saffârid* dynasties in eastern Iranian land ruled by Persian-speaking and the *Buyid* dynasty¹⁷ in the western part under the rule of Kurdish people between 932-1062) (Izady 1992), created a “national awareness” (Hutt 1984) and with the separation of political power from religious power, the Muslim city was faced with changes and it developed a new structure based on racial, tribal, cultural and religious discrimination. It meant that the Muslim city, especially the Iranian ones, again referred to the old context to rearrange and “create a heroic and imperial past for itself” (Grabar 1987: 3). As Habibi (1996: 44) indicates, in this period, the predominance of political power over religious power is a notion borrowed from an earlier period, the *Sâssânids* dynasty.

Generally speaking, the outcome of those changes was in redefining the spatial structure of the city based on the previous concepts of *Quhandezh*, *Shârestân* and *Sawâd*/suburbs. In most cases, the main part of the city was assigned to the *Shârestân* (inner town) comprising; the *Qushk* (the seat of power), Friday mosque, *Madrassa* (Islamic school), courts and the houses of governmental agents, and the outer town including; the quarters and the bazaar complex. Although, the concept of a rigid class divide was no longer maintained rather the quarter was defined based on other concepts of ethnic and religious segregation, which in some cities created urban strife between quarters. This led to a self-reliant structure of the quarters, “village-like communities” within the urban whole, so that each was a microcosm with rich and poor living alongside one another, because each contained all necessary shared elements: a place of worship (mosque, church, etc) a public bath, small market (*Bazaarchê*), etc. This structure, therefore, shows a distinctive subdivision of urban space due to four main elements of urban life (Government, *Umma*/community of believers, *Asnaf*/guilds and religion) in the period of Islam: the government in the *Qushk* and court buildings, the religion in the mosques and *Madrassa*, the *Asnaf* in the bazaar and the *Umma* in the quarters¹⁸ (Ashraf 1974: 24).

¹⁷ “The Buwâyhids succeeded in subduing the Islamic Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad. Under King Panâ Khusraw (Adud al-Dawlah, r. 949-983), the Buwâyhid Kurdish empire stretched from Anatolia and Mesopotamia to the shores of the Indian Ocean” (Izady 1991: 43).

¹⁸ The distilled physical manifestation of these ideas can be traced in the formation of Baghdad as a new town in the period of Abbasids dynasty in 762 A.D. to the extent “it was planned as a round city with four gates towards the main roads of caravans, like *Sâssânian Firuz-âbâd*” (Morgan 1988: 17). It had carefully isolated zones due to the hierarchy of power relations focused on the Caliph al-Mansur, with his palace located in the central zone adjacent to the Friday mosque and special guards’ building, built upon the ashes of the old concepts. The second zone was devoted to the buildings occupied by relatives, government agencies, servants, army chiefs and supporters of al-Mansur. The last zone was assigned to the residential quarters, which was

2.3.3. The evolved concept of the traditional Iranian city

This period coincides partly with the structure of mound cities (1168-1639) within the territory of the principality of *Ardalân*, as the historical background of the city formation, and the foundation of the city in 1639.

Considering the context under investigation (the Kurdish context), the important point about this period, especially from the 12th century onwards, is in relation to the decline of “strong urban nature of Kurdish society due to massive influx of Turkic nomads and frequent wars and deportation rooted from the division of the Middle east into two, warring empires (Persian and Ottoman), with their line of fire being the heartland of Kurdistan which turned the surviving Kurdish cities” (*Dinavar, Hulwân, Nahâvand, Arbil, Malâtya, Shâhâbâd*) into strongly fortified shrunken urban islands (Izady 1992: 49, 121). As Vasilyeva (2000: 3) indicates, “the history pendulum moved towards the pastoral morpheme, tribal traditions and nomad settlements”. For this reason, the form of castle-city at the top of inaccessible mountains was recalled as the past tradition of Kurdish ancestors and became preferred by the smaller Kurdish principalities as a means to continue their independent political lives. “Far from being just military outposts or tribal chieftains’ castles and capable of housing only a few thousands inhabitants at the most, [these fortresses dots were actual towns], many of which boasted a local aristocracy who fostered art and culture” (Izady 1992: 122). More importantly, the structure of mound-cities dominated the region of Kurdistan for nearly five centuries from 1168 up to 1639 when the castellated cities were demolished in favour of creating cities in relatively low-lands capable of control by the rival empires on both sides of *Zâgros* Mountains. As will be explored further in the chapter on the historical background, one of the principalities was where the *Ardalâns* reigned; it was based on four castellated cities which were later moved down to the city of *Sanandaj* by the *Safavid* dynasty.

The period of the *Safavid* dynasty (1502-1736) can be recognised as a remarkable time in the history of Iran after the start of Islamic period. It was the period which “prolonged the older political and cultural tradition of Iran and endowed the country and its peoples with a unique

divided into four equal quadrants by four main galleries running from the main gate to the gate of the palace area. The quarters were structured according to the self-contained concept, each having its own small bazaar, mosques and bath. “The makeup of the population was originally chosen in such a manner that all the various ethnic, tribal, and economic groups of the Muslim empire were represented” (Grabar 1987). As Kostof (1991: 185) indicates, this radical organisation had been selected to “represent the ethnic and tribal elements of the Muslim domains”. From these points, it was noted that the Abbasids increasingly tended towards the construction of glorious monuments and cities with *Sâssaniân* influenced architectures, in an attempt to relate the Muslim world to the rich past (Grabar 1987).

character of historic significance, Iranicisation of Persian Islam, which has in part endured even up to the present day” (Roemer 1968: 189, 190). More importantly, it was the period which the Shiite ideology was officially recognised by the state and used as “a way of distinguishing Iranians from Ottoman Sunnis” (Natali 2002: 189) and, thus, by “increased absolutism in religion” (Lambton 1991: 105) most parts of Iran except the region of Kurdistan tended to accept this sect of Islam. This point and the presence of the Ottoman Empire on the western border of the *Zâgros* with Kurdistan between as the defendant of Sunni ideology created challenges which influenced the destiny of the mound cities, the formation of *Sanandaj* and its development over the course of time. The details of these challenges are investigated further in the chapter concerning the historical background of the city.

2.3.3.1. The Safavid Contribution to Urban Architecture

Apart from its socio-political achievements, its main contribution to Iranian culture should be seen in the urban architecture and the new concepts that it distilled from earlier traditions. Given those points and the vast destruction that occurred during the period of the Mongol invasion, it can be recognised as the period of Iran’s renaissance. During this period, the architecture tended to elaborate external symbols of *Safavid’s* power and presence, as the pre-Islamic Iranian city had in the period of *Sâssânids* Empire (224-642 CE). The main motive of this movement must be traced in the nature of the *Safavid* Empire which rivalled the Ottoman Empire and which made architecture into an “expression of power” (Grabar 1984: 75).

The urban programme of that period derived from the socio-political actions of *Shâh Abbâs I* (1587-1629) in his conflicts with the Ottomans and his policy of alliance with the western powers, this in turn facilitated commercial activities. He moved the “Armenian population in north west Iran, which was being harassed by the Ottoman Turks, to the new suburb of *Julfa*, where he allowed them to build their own churches and where he could make full use of their abilities as merchants” (Roemer 1968; Browne 1976: 259). He also adopted an intermarriage policy concerning the leaders/*Khâns* of the Kurdistan region to attract them to the side of the Iranian government. This was also an attempt towards “Iranicising” the Kurdish leaders. In line with this policy, “he [also] commissioned Prince *Sharafedin*, the famous Kurdish historian and a scion of the *Sharaf Khân* Dynasty of *Bitlis*, to write, in Persian, a history of the Kurdish tribes and their genealogies. His aim was, of course, to arouse the hereditary

pride of the Kurds to recall their ancient associations with Persia and the east, and thus to divert their attention from the Ottoman Empire” (Safrastian 1948: 42). More importantly, such policies and the geo-political situation of Kurdistan on the Perso-Turkish frontiers led to the breaking-up of the Kurdish style of urbanisation and town planning, “picturesque castles and fortresses dots on the mountain tops” (Izady 1992: 122) (the detail of this movement is explained in the chapter on the historical background of the city), and moving them down to the relatively low-lands capable of organisation as a city alongside other Iranian cities and, of control by the central government. As a result of this movement and detachment from the mound cities, when Rich (1836: 201) entered the city of *Sanandaj* in 1820 he perceived the architecture of the city, especially the buildings belonging to the ruling class, as an imitation of Isfahân’s architecture in the period of the *Safavid* dynasty.

Apart from the points already mentioned concerning Kurdistan, the outcome of those policies alongside the centralized administrative system facilitated city development leading to unique principles of urban planning and design hitherto unequalled in Iran.

Thanks to *Shâh Abbâs* and his early conception of town planning, Isfahân still remains one of the few cities worthy of the name in modern Iran. The prosperity of the capital, the welcome with which foreigners were received, and the tolerance with which Christians were treated, attracted many European merchants and missionaries to Abba’s court (Bausani 1971: 145)

The major contribution of the *Safavid* Empire was in defining the geometrical form - rational design - alongside the organic one in a harmonious way (Habibi 1996; Karimi and Motamed 2003) within which, the element of a new centre acted as a uniting force linking the expression of the dual characters. This is what Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973) regarded as harmonic order which “reaches unity through the maximum use of architectonic vocabulary” (Oliver 1983: 122). The details of this rational design is in the axuality (a wide straight boulevard with four rows of large trees and pools called *Chahâr-bâq* or four gardens) of urban spaces and the creation of a rectangular space, known as the *Maidân* which is flanked by the main governmental, religious and commercial buildings, linked to the older structure of the city by making an organic movement of different public spaces. In this movement, the rational planning, unlike the effects of *Haussmann* style boulevards in Paris, was not in contrast with the old part of the city. But, as Karimi and Motamed (2003: 14.8) state, it was “to reconcile two apparent contradictory concepts: preserving and renewing”. It means that the very well-defined connection of the new urban spaces with the older structure

created a movement of transformation and metamorphosis in the old city. In addition, this correlation of geometric and organic form, which enhanced the physical qualities of the cities in that period, convinced some of scholars to regard **binarism** as fundamental for an understanding of the whole. To some extent, the uniqueness of Isfahân was recognised in “the richness of the binary situation which it offers” (Oliver 1983: 143). For the importance of binarism we should look at its principles which dominated many features of the world with their powerful role in controlling human life: the cycle of day and night, the alternation of dry and wet seasons, hot and cold, and the contrast between sky and earth (Tjahjono 1989). Each is the complement of the other, “the sides of the same coin”, and together they create an essential unity. Therefore, applying these principles in the traditional Iranian city reveals an ultimate interaction of the city with nature to generate a rich basis for life.

Although, most people recognise the above principles of town planning in the splendid city of Isfahân, it was not an isolated case because some of those features can be traced in other cities and even in the case study. For example, *Tabriz* had an impressive *Maidân* larger than that of Isfahân and a long avenue lined with trees as a linking element of royal gardens and the *Dowlat-khané* (the seat of government) in the late 17th century (Lockhart 1939: 14; Alemi 1991: 104); Mashhad benefited from the action of *Shâh Abbâs* in building a long axial line running northwest and southeast of the Imam Reza shrine (De Planhol 1968); Shiraz also contained such an axial pattern along the Isfahân road, and *Kiramân* was supplied with a complex of *Madrasa*, public baths and bazaar set around a *Maidân* relatively similar to the *Maidân Naqsh-I Jahân* (Scarce 1991).

The point above concerning the notion of binarism in urban architecture and city structure is an important point in the context under investigation. In this thesis, the Kurdish context (with its own culture and Sunni religious background) is examined through the city of *Sanandaj* within the Iranian context (with a mainly hot-arid zone architectural background and Shiite religious ideology). Apart from the physical outcomes of binarism, the concept of binarism in itself is examined in the analysis section of the research to understand how these two contexts were accommodated in the city, and how their challenges led to specific features.

Generally, in this period, the structure of the city includes the royal palaces, *Maidân*, *Chahâr-bâq* and axial lines, mostly intended to relate elements (strictly defined spaces), the

bazaar and the Friday mosque surrounded by the organic form of residential quarters. The residential quarters contained inhabitants of various ethnic and religious backgrounds, leading to a strong sense of tension between quarters. This way of structuring the quarters, as explained earlier when discussing the notion of the Islamic city, gave them a strong feeling of group solidarity within the quarters with reciprocal duties and obligations leading to a degree of sustainable internal self-government. Note that, the bazaar acted as the backbone to this socio-spatial structure as it went across the city and fed and defined the quarters' centres due to its linear form.

2.3.3.2. Religious features

As the *Safavid* period was also remarkable for the spread of Shiite belief in Iran, it was established as the national creed, and that went far to explain the emphasis on shrines and related elements (*Husayniyya* and *Imamzâde*). To some extent, "many of the most celebrated shrines of Iran and Iraq acquired their present aspect during this period" (Hillenbrand 1986: 826). The importance of Shiite ideology (the continuation of the caliphate through the descendants of Ali, the prophet's cousin and son-in-law) influenced many aspects of Iranian culture, to such an extent that Muharram rituals, especially the commemoration of *Husain's* martyrdom (Ali's son) became "the focus of socio-religious life in Persia" (Calmard 1996: 150). In city structure, this contextualised the buildings of *Imamzâde* and *Husayniyyah* and related ceremonial routes, these were significant structures during the month of Muharram. In this month, and even on the occasion of the birth and the martyrdom of twelve Imams, these two buildings are the major places that citizens visit and where they gather. The importance of these elements are such that they often exceed that of the mosques in the centres of the residential quarters and even that of the Friday mosque (Kheirabadi 1991). For example, the shrine of Imam Reza (the eighth Shiite Imam), in the city of *Mashhad*, was the main factor in that city's formation, as it formed the main core of the city and the hub of socio-religious life of the people. The centre of the *Kulvân* quarter, in the city of *Nain*, was defined by the open space of the *Husayniyyah* instead of the mosque as it was the site of the main elements of the quarter (Sultanzadeh 1986: 245).

However, the Kurds, in contrast, are mostly adherents to the Sunni tradition of the *Shâfiei* rite. This made a major point of difference between those two cultures (Persian and Kurdish). That rite emerged among the Kurdish people in medieval times when Iran was also mainly *Shâfiei* Sunni Muslim. As stated above the change happened when the *Safavids* came to

power and made the Shiite ideology the official religion of the state. More importantly, at this time, the rival empire was also Sunni Muslim, but followed the *Hanefite* doctrine of law not *Shâfi'i* (Bruinessen 1978). This event, to a large extent dissolved the close cultural ties between the Kurds and Persians (Mardukh 2000; McDowall 1997) leading to some differences in the development of their cultures. For example, unlike the most parts of Iran (except tribal and rural women), the black *Châdour* (a veil which covers all of the body) is not worn by Kurdish women except for mourning (O'Shea 1996) and the structure of the Kurdish cities either lacks or did not give priority to those urban elements - the *Husayniyyah* and *Imamzâde* - evident in other Iranian cities.

Associated with the importance of the Shiite religious buildings in the structure of the Iranian cities, the role of *Ulamâ*, the clergy, was also promoted in the socio-political life of Iranian society. Equally, this was also due to the nature of *Safavid* government which defined itself on the basis of the “*Twelve* Shiite theology and law”. To some extent, the *Safavid* Shah claimed “descent from the Imams and regarded himself as their representative on earth” (Morgan 1988: 120). From this point, the *Ulamâ* acquired prominence in the court of the *Safavid*. “The presence of formal clerical hierarchy enabled the Shiite *Ulamâ* to assume a more institutionalised role in Iranian society and politics than was the case in the Ottoman Empire” (Natali 2002: 189). As they also were more in touch with the public, they acted like intermediate agents between the ruler and commoners and in linking the parochial groups (Lapidus 1967; Lapidus 1969). To some extent, their ramified ties and the pattern of their social interaction, especially in solving the conflicts between the neighbours, met the needs of Iranian city for formal institutions, especially at the level of neighbourhoods.

In relation to the previous point, Kurdish society, the specific context under investigation, showed, to some extent, a different pattern of development. As has been argued, on the one hand it was a part of Kurdish society and, on the other hand, it was connected with the other Iranian cities. From this point of view, the role of *Ulamâ* was somewhat more influential in the city than was the case in the parts of Kurdistan ruled by the Ottoman Empire. For example, the main political event of the city, called the war of Caravansary, was controlled by the leading *Ulamâ* who attained the level of *Ayatollâh* (clerical leader) similar to the Shiite *Ulamâ* (Vasilyeva 2000).

2.3.3.3. Urban administrative aspects

From the perspective of urban administration, apart from the activities of *Ulamâ* in respect of moral order, there were other positions under the control of the state, known as *Muhtasib/Dâruqé/Kalântar*, whose function was to ensure the piety of the community through supervision of the city's socio-economical functions, *Qâdi* - a judge of an Islamic court, who was more concerned with pious foundations for the maintenance of public services and *Kadkhudâ*¹⁹, who, as the leader of a ward acted as an intermediate agent between the government – *Kalântar* as its representative – and the city populace. The role of *Kadkhudâ* was highlighted in the administration of the city because it was through this office that the government ensured that its wishes were carried out among the urban population at the level of quarters and craft and trade organisations (Hambly 1991: 568). Generally, the role of these statutes were to regulate fiscal interests concerning trade and local commerce, to ensure public order, especially in public places of the bazaar complex and the Friday mosque, and to provide “some form of development dealing with complain about the encroachment on a neighbour's boundary or extension of beams beyond the outside wall as well as supply of water and repair of city walls” (Madanipour 1998: 95).

2.3.4. Early Modern Periods

The above ideas which came about in the *Safavid* dynasty, can be recognised as the basic principles of a well-established tradition of town planning, and were followed by the *Zands* (1750-79) and *Qajâr* (1794-1925) dynasties (Scarce 1991; Habibi 1996). What can be noted, especially from the descriptions of foreign observers, is that the general outlines of the cities in these periods had not changed (Kinneir 1973). The important point is in relation to the *Qajâr* which fostered a transition from traditional to modern design by widening the political and commercial relationships with western countries. To some extent, this led to socio-economic changes and a kind of eclecticism in the art and literature of this period, mixing the western concepts with traditional ones. For example, the concept of *Khiabân* was no longer defined on its former basis as a “hedonistic function”, (Alemi 1991: 104) but it was a kind of urban space lined with commercial activities and new functions borrowed from western countries at the expense of the role of bazaar in earlier periods (Habibi 1996). This movement facilitated socio-economic changes leading to a process of spatial segregation of

¹⁹ For more information, the reader is referred to the Sultanzadeh (1986: 208-219), Ashraf (1974: 24-28) and Madanipour (1998: 64, 65). The important point is in relation to the selection of the *Kadkhudâ*, who was usually selected from among the most prominent residents of the ward. This selection was a process between the leading inhabitants of a ward and the office of *Kalântar* (Hambly 1991).

social classes in the urban structure, that is the creation of new upper-class quarters (Madanipour 1998: 33).

The major outlines of the above changes, which diffused to other cities, can be traced in the first period of the *Pahlavi* dynasty (1925-1979). The period dispensed with the notion of tradition and continuity by breaking the link with the past and following the idea of modernism launched by western countries, especially the so-called Haussmann approach to the city structure.

2.3.5. Conclusion

This final section of the review of the literature together with the other two parts supports the view that a study of a traditional built form should respect three main factors: time, place and social parameters as guiding points to illustrate the forces underlying the built form and to conceptualise its distinct character. Apart from this, the review of the context - the Iranian city - conceptualised some important points necessary for the case study to be studied. **The first point** concerns the historical background of the city and its link with the so-called period of mound-cities rooted in the pre-Islamic concepts of city from the period of the Median dynasty, the typical Kurdish style of urban planning, and the nature of clashes between two rival Empires (*Safavid* and Ottoman) on the two sides of the Kurdish lands (in the *Zâgros* Mountains) which ultimately led to the destruction of those cities in favour of *Sanandaj*'s foundation. **The next point** addresses the binarism notion in the structure of the traditional Iranian city which made clear the correlation of geometric and organic form of urban spaces. The extent of this concept in the city makes a point of comparison within which some distinct characteristics of the city can be recognised. This also leads the study to investigate the administrative structure of the city because the rationality of urban form has a direct link with this subject. **The third point** relates to the religious aspect of the city and to what extent the selected case study is distinct from other Iranian cities. This point leads the research to the notions of public and private domains, especially the way women interact with public spaces and its relevant features, to draw the points of similarities and distinctions leading to conceptualise the character of the city as representative of Kurdish built form.

After those comments we now move on to consider the methodology of the study in the following chapter to serve as a basis for data collection and the analysis section of the research.

Chapter Three: Methodology

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3.1. Introduction

Once the main aim and questions of the research (as reflections of the actual line of inquiry) have been identified and the conceptual base has been generated, the next task is to examine how the data can be collected and analysed, that is the process of inquiry, in order to achieve an understanding of the design principles of the city's traditional core.

As explained, the nature of the research – dealing with the traditional city formation and its design principles – implies historical research in urban architecture which tries to understand the built environment in a “holistic and full-bodied way” in the manner of interpretive research. This means research which requires as much evidence as possible concerning “social-physical phenomena within complex contexts” to construct a clear picture of the inquiry considering the main questions of the research (Groat and Wang 2002: 14, 136, 137, 179). In order to accomplish this, this chapter aims to develop in detail the methodological approach adopted in this study to find logical answers to the main questions of the research, identifying the principles of the actual socio-physical configuration and arrangement of the City (its shaping design principles). This will be traced by reference to the literature reviewed on the subject.

Generally speaking, in this stage, based on the research questions and the approach in the conceptual framework, it is necessary to make strategic choices about which methods and sources are the most appropriate for answering the research questions. Therefore, as Mason (2002) indicated, the methodological strategy, which lies behind the research design, can be defined as the logic by which to go about answering the research questions.

3.2. The research strategy

Based on the summary of points from the literature review and the nature of the research questions (how and what questions), it is clear that the research methodology for the purpose of the research can be defined as mostly in the realm of explanatory inquiry. This means that the orientation of the research follows a descriptive approach to the primary findings and information concerning the process of city formation and its determinants, leading to an exploratory approach which goes beyond pure description to find out why the things are the way they are and what the ideas and beliefs are that affect certain events and things. This leads the research to approach the shaping design principles of the quarter selected for the

case study. Considering this perspective, this study should follow at least two main principles:

First, that the study of traditional core will be best achieved by understanding its historical formation over the course of time (historical analysis). Note that in this historical inquiry both physical and social environments are tightly related to each other and we cannot study them separately.

Second, that its shaping design principles can be best understood by emphasising the shaping factors of the built form. This means investigating “the reasons underlying various physical elements formation and the spatial units which relate them together, and the rules governing their aggregation in making up the whole entity” (Hakim 1998: 52).

Those two main principles will lead the study to follow two particular structures of methodological inquiries.

3.2.1. First inquiry

The first structure is a general inquiry into the City’s formation over the course of time, which aims to uncover the process of formation (how was the traditional core of the City formed) leading to the knowledge of contexts, especially socio-political ones. This inquiry was based on Kostof’s approach (1991: 11) examining the “social premises of the designers”, which led the research to consider socio-political issues in order to explain elements of the built form. This also should include the empowering agencies (or institutions) and laws or conventions which act as factors/forces, both enabling and constraining, in managing the decision making, for instance: “the power of government to take over private property for public use” (Kostof 1991: 11) or the role of public and religious institutions (*Waqf* in Islamic cities as “a public trust inspired by the Islamic emphasis on charity”) in providing public services (Goodman 1999: 133). Sometimes this is refined by certain local rules or laws which were dominant in decision making. For example, the action of *Shari’a* law and its main device (the role of privacy) in organising the structure of quarters in Islamic cities and giving shape to their built form. A more important point is the way this law may be modified based on some strong sense of neighbourhood among the inhabitants, thus, creating conventions between them leading to different forms but adapted more to local customs and traditions and the circumstances of nature. As the results of the literature review and research also imply, this point means that conceiving the built form, especially the spaces that embodied the people, without examining its social-cultural content is a vain attempt and,

equally, the reverse is the case. Generally, as Carmona, Heath et al. (2003: 106) indicate, it means a “two-way process” in analysing the built form.

The above notion was also emphasised by Rossi (1982: 21). As he argues, studying the built form does not imply only “the visible image of the city and the sum of its different parts”, but it must be viewed as a totality which has been shaped over time by the action of man. This was recognised as the most comprehensive way of analysing the city because it implies the process of city construction as a human creation.

Tracing the process of city formation gave us insight into the articulation of the different urban elements and its evolutionary processes. This first inquiry was recognised as the **identification** stage of analysis (Ozaslan 1996), dealing with time, place and institutional elements through historical data such as archive documents, maps, old photographs and drawings, historians and travellers accounts, interviews with elders and expert people (as a complementary method of generating information due to the limited reliability of this method for knowledge of historical conditions); that stage was completed later by **reading** and **understanding** the existing built form.

3.2.2. Second inquiry

The second inquiry is in a direct relationship with the main aim of the research, identifying the shaping design principles of the traditional core, which led us to study the built form in detail, which means **reading** the urban form. In this methodology, we based our inquiry on a socio-spatial approach starting from the geophysical setting of the city using, in the main, the notions of Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973) and Norberg-Schulz (1980) concerning the structure of place, proceeding to morphological studies of urban form elements and finally to the socio-cultural dimension of the selected built form mainly through an approach after Rapoport (1977). This means that initially the pattern of place structure (both natural and man-made), especially the essence of interaction between the two environments, was investigated to recognise the features of nature (as the prime form giver to the architecture), which gave insights/directions to the men/builders to settle there meaningfully. Next, the structure of Kostof's (1992) inquiry was used to examine the City's constituent parts. The social dimension of the built form was examined mainly at the level of the quarter selected for the case study. It also comprised the points of place structure referred to above, especially the structuring elements of the place, and urban elements as initial notions leading to the

socio-cultural issues of the built form. Adopting a research methodology based on these points enables the study to view the City in its wider context, both social and physical. Overall, it means that the act of interpretation was primarily bound to the site, content and historical circumstances (Norberg-Schulz 1980).

In case of physical environment, the above inquiry directed the study to view the site and situation of the City from the point of view of the natural place structure linked to man-made place structure¹. This was recognised at both, the macro and micro scales of the landscape within which the main orientation of the City was defined. The site was defined as the endogenous factor, the determinant in relation to the local environment as a permanent element in the uniqueness of the built environment, where the City is primarily characterised or conditioned by the feature of natural landscape (morphology of environment), hills, mountains and water (Blumenfeld 1982).

The examination of the man-made structure was mainly conducted on the basis of the analysis from Kostof (1991: 8), who analysed the constituent elements of urban form common to all settlement patterns, into **edge, internal division, public places and streets**. Contrary to the fixed structuring physical elements conceptualised by Lynch (1960) some cases might not be consistent with or lack those abstracted points, this method of urban form division has more flexibility in relation to different socio-cultural backgrounds. Within this analysis, the research approached the social dimension of built form, principally at the level of the quarter. Thus, this way of classifying the urban elements not only emphasises the urban form in itself but also includes the socio-cultural contents, relationships and their role within the whole structure of the city.

Following the line of the above inquiry, in order to investigate the details of urban form aggregation, one of the quarters was selected as a case study in this research. In this way, a detailed picture of the design principles of urban form was identified by multiple approaches, the approaches mentioned alongside Cullen's views on depicting the townscape, especially the experiential qualities of physical space in the circulation system of the quarter. At this level, similar to the City, the structuring elements of place, including socio-spatial elements,

¹ Relatedness was recognised as a major point in defining meaning in man-made environments. In this regard, Norberg-Schulz (1980: 166) argued that "the meaning of any object consists in its relationships to other objects, that is, it consists in what the object gathers".

were probed in detail using the analytical tools to make clear the quarter's evolutionary process and organisation. After this socio-spatial inquiry into the general structure of the place, the content dimension of the selected case was examined with particular emphasis on the public domain and in particular the way women negotiate this domain. As stated, this mainly benefited from Rapoport's work (1977).

In order to include all elements of built form and in line with the notion that external order is meaningless without considering internal order and vice versa (Rapoport 1977), at this level of the analysis, the realm of private houses was investigated to comprehend its link with the public realms, especially the way these two realms interacted with respect to the concept of privacy.

Considering the above structure of inquiry, the research included four levels of investigation (units of analysis): the first considered the structure of natural place (the site and situation of the City) as a whole, the second concentrated on the structure of the City mainly concerned with its constituent elements, the third focused on one of the quarters within which the fourth level (houses) was also conducted. This defines a top-down approach to the fieldwork that is to say from general to specific. As Senan (1993) indicated this is a structural guideline within which the researcher categorises the objects to be observed in the essence of their socio-spatial dimension.

The combination of those two methodological inquiries generated a special method which focused on urban elements not only in formal relationships but also "institutional ones that [had] a direct role in forming the city" (Ozaslan 1996: 210).

3.3. Data sources and methods of generating information

Although the past is not accessible to direct inspection it has left ample traces of itself in the present, in the shape of documents, buildings, coins, institutions, procedures and so forth (Walsh 1958 quoted in Arnold 2001: 4).

In an historical study of built form Kostof (1991: 10) indicates, "there is no easy way to appropriate the past. Walking in an old town centre, sketching it and thinking about it, is instructive in a direct way. It is the first and indispensable step. But it will not tell us what really happened until we turn to the archives, the history books, the old maps – until we assemble all the evidence, some of it often contradictory, that will help explain how a

particular downtown got the look it now has". In parallel with this Groat (2002: 151) stresses that direct experience of "the physical object in itself cannot reveal much without the other tactics of the overall interpretive enterprise: evidence collection, evaluation, and narration as it may either be in decay or in some way different from the condition in the period under consideration".

From the above points, the main sources of generating data in the research are the surviving physical evidence of existing built form of the traditional core supported by sequential analysis of historic maps, archive materials, historical records, travellers' accounts, transcripts, family chronology and interviews. As the apparent life history of the city, comprising its socio-spatial development, was written deeply into the outline of the City's built up area, it can be recognised as the main and firsthand source of knowledge for the research (Conzen 1969). Although, it has undergone many changes during modern times, it is still firsthand evidence of the past which directs us to observe and experience its components and configuration; that is to say, what they have to convey. Apart from the physical features, socio-cultural knowledge was obtained mainly from the other sources mentioned, especially the knowledge of interviewees supported by anthropological literature of studies carried out in different parts of Kurdistan. Those sources were mostly obtained during two fieldwork trips.

The first fieldwork trip took place in summer 2003. It was designed to gain insights into the sources of information mainly in respect to historical background, site and situation, and the total structure of the place. This trip was mainly consistent with the first inquiry of the research strategy. In this fieldwork, based on advice from two educated local people in UK (in the University of Durham) and Paris, relevant key people concerning the historical background of the City were interviewed. Through them, most of the historical records and the sources of information were identified. The second fieldwork trip (in 2004) was conducted after the detail of socio-spatial dimension of the place had been rigorously examined at the level of the quarter selected for the case study and, thus, necessitated more information. Considering this point, the second fieldwork mostly focused on the quarter selected for the case study and missing details from the first part concerning the City. In addition to the key people (local historians), the interviews were targeted on inhabitants of the quarter to derive as much knowledge of social issues as possible.

After recognising the main sources for generating information, the reasons for selecting the city of *Sanandaj* and the case study are discussed and the research methods are discussed in detail.

3.3.1. The case of Sanandaj

As the total focus of this research is upon a particular setting within its real life context, it can be categorised as a case study approach, this means context-dependent knowledge, which aims to examine the socio-spatial complexity of the selected case leading to its design principles (Stake 1995). To do this, the study concentrated on the city of *Sanandaj* within the Iranian-Kurdish context and the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* as the case study for the following reasons:

1. As the capital of Kurdistan since 1639, Sanandaj, situated within the majestic mountain range of *Zagros* in the west of Iran, the birth place of Kurdish culture which existed long before the establishment of Sanandaj in the 17th century. Considering the historical background, its foundation and later development has a direct link with challenges between two great empires; the Ottoman Empire as the representative of the Sunni sect located to the west and the *Safavid* Empire as the defender of Shiite ideology to the east of the *Zagros* range. Within these rival empires, although, the city was aligned with Sunni ideology, it remained within the *Shâfiei* School of law different from the *Hanafite* doctrine of law supported by the Ottoman Empire.
2. Considering the City's historical background, it bears signs of the concept of mound-cities; the concept was recognised as the main tradition of the Kurdish style of urban planning in pre-Islamic times (Izady 1992) which even continued into the period from 1168 to 1639 prior to the City's foundation.
3. More importantly, most Iranian literature was focused on the human settlements of the Iranian plateau and little attention had been paid to the settlements in the Iranian-Kurdish context, and very little to the context of Kurdish settlements.
4. Considering the above points, the City can be recognised as a good example of Kurds' understanding of their environment and that the results also fill the gap in knowledge of traditional settlement in that part of the country.
5. Personal knowledge of the author is also the main motivating factor in selecting the city, this provided by a lifetime's residence in Sanandaj.

3.3.2. Time and scale of the research

As explained, the main concern of the research is with the traditional city. From this point, this study limits itself to the features of the City before overall modernisation of the Iranian society, which began, in the main, after the start of the *Pahlavi* dynasty in 1925, when the stream of socio-economical changes was accelerated and, thus, created major conflict with the notion of tradition and affected the main realm of its material manifestation, the traditional city. Therefore, in line with the time, the research has adopted the old section of the City which comprises the City's main quarters (five quarters). Within this area, after investigating the structure of both the natural and man-made environments and their constituent elements, one of the quarters - *Qatâr-chyân* - was selected for examination of the detail of its built form aggregation and its socio-spatial dimensions because of the personal knowledge of researcher, existing information, its well-know character among inhabitants of the City as being representative of the past life of the city, and that its built form had changed less than other quarters.

3.3.3. The research methods

In line with conceptualised points of the research strategy, the traditional built form can be grasped through multiple methods (figure 3.1), which are defined here in the two realms of indirect observation of the past traditional image of the City and direct observation of surviving existing built form, each of which comprised a different method. In the first realm, the methods are based on the available documents and accounts, which help the researcher to have a clear description of the past life of the City, especially in re-constructing the process of city formation and its evolution through the course of time. It comprised two methods, the study of historical documents and interviews with historians and key people. The second realm relied on the following methods; direct observation of urban form and the behaviour of the people and a physical survey. In the analysis section of the research, these two realms are treated as joint sources and methods to cope with the main aim of the research and comprehending the socio-spatial dimension of the selected built form.

3.3.3.1. Collection of documents

According to Patton (1987) and Yin (2003), documents and historical records are important sources of data and information which can provide ideas about significant questions and also give basic information about field activities. Considering this point, emphasis was put upon collecting as much evidence as possible through individual autobiography and life histories,

traveller's descriptions (especially those by Europeans during the 19 and 20th centuries), sequence maps, old photographs and drawings, historical books, archive materials, transcripts, and family chronology concerning the subject. Each of these resources provided the researcher with valuable information connecting with the different themes of the research.

The sequence maps are valuable sources from which to reconstruct the process of city formation from the perspective of morphological studies because "each period leaves its distinctive material residues". From this point, the built form can be conceived as "a text which is a fabric of quotation, resulting from several sources of culture" (Arnold 2001: 7). Although, as is common for most of medium sized cities in the Middle East, this account from sequence plans was not complete, for this research the gaps were filled by other information, especially local chronicles, oral history, some surviving physical evidence on the site of the City, and the imagination² of the author so as to create a coherent whole. For example, the oldest record of the city is a Russian map surveyed in 1850; the next is dated 1957. This means the gap was more than one hundred years between sequence maps. The validity of the point can be observed in the work of Tavassoli and Bonyadi (1991-2) who reconstructed images of the historical physical spaces of some Iranian cities located in central areas of the Iranian plateau through historical records and oral history.

The above information concerning the historical background of the City was collected mostly from public organisations and from some individuals: the sources included *Sanandaj* Public Library, university libraries (Kurdistan, Tehran and *Shahid Beheshti*), Organisations of Cultural Heritage, Housing and Urban Development, Iran's National Document Centre, the Country Surveying Organisation, family chronologies, transcripts and old photographs. Historical books were mostly traced and obtained through individuals, especially interviewees. As explained earlier, the interviewees were the main bases of knowledge. In each interview, the final question concerned any archives material or historical records that the interviewee or other people possessed in respect of the themes under investigation. For example, Mr. Marufi (local historian and expert in cultural heritage) introduced Mr. Gâzarâni who had prepared a collection of old photographs. Or Mr. Bâqer-khân-e Wakil (the

² As Collingwood (quoted in Groat and Wang 2002: 141) argued, the human imagination has an inherent ability to comprehend past phenomena in terms of coherent wholes.

representative of the *Wakil* family) referred the author to a person in Tehran who had written a biographical account of the *Wazieris'* family, one of the ruling classes.

3.3.3.2. Interview

Oral history was recognised an important source of knowledge in Kurdish culture due to the strongly oral character of its tradition (Kreyenbroek 1996; Kreyenbroek and Allison 1996).

In line with above main category of methods and different from the collection of documents, another method of generating information was interviews with key people because of the oral character of Kurdish culture described above. Before discussing the main points of this method, one may ask **how the interview generates data particularly in the case where the timescale of the research was largely limited to the period before modernisation, probably before the lifetime of the interviewees.** In order to answer this question, it is necessary to say that interviewing was not, as such, an independent method equivalent to the other methods in this research. It was a complementary method mostly consistent with the indirect observation method. Also, the people selected were not just older persons as few of them had experienced the life of the City before modernisation. They were mostly expert and representatives of major families or whom another person had recognised as a reliable person concerning the past life of the City or the quarter selected for the case study. Some of them had also published articles in local journals. From these points and because of the oral character of Kurdish tradition and habits, the ontological position was that some items of information, which other resources did not reveal at all or where there were ambiguities in the remaining traces, can be followed or obtained by interviews with these people, especially through their imaginations and what they have acquired from their ancestors. The last point was more in relation to the elderly people whose memories were targeted rather than their present day reactions to things.

For conducting the interview, the semi-structured interview was used which contained the themes and issues of the interview. The main advantage of this type of interview is that “it enables the respondent to express himself in his own way. At the same time it enables the interviewer to contain the discussion within a specific scope” (Senan 1993: 90). From this point, “respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge – treasuries of information awaiting excavation – as they are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers” (Holstein 1995: 4). And as Yin (1994: 84) indicates, this form of interview gives the interviewee a role as an informant rather than as a respondent. “Such persons not

only provide the case study investigator with insight into a matter but also can suggest sources of corroboratory evidence – and initiate the access to such sources”.

From the points mentioned and in addition to generating information, it was found that the interview acted as a base for tracing other resources, especially historical records, including archives, old maps and photographs. For this reason, although it was a complementary method it was conducted first and lasted until the end of the second fieldwork trip. Because of the face to face interview it was found to be an attractive way of transacting knowledge – a giving-and-taking of information. To some extent, some interviewees were more interested to acquire knowledge than to pass it on.

Furthermore, face to face interviews provided the researcher with an opportunity to discuss the themes and issues of the research by using maps, photographs and drawings. This created an interaction between interviewer and interviewee, as in some cases the interviewees were induced to present some evidences (some photographs, transcripts or historical books) in supporting their arguments.

As the fieldwork was conducted in two periods, so the interviews were organised to relate to both inquiries embedded in the research strategy. In the first fieldwork, the aim of the interviews was to deal mainly with the historical background of the city, thus, extracting more from the key people (the local historians and the representative of big families). In the second fieldwork, in search of the social dimension of the built form, apart from those key people, other local inhabitants (mostly the inhabitants of the quarter selected for the case study) were interviewed. These comprised mostly elderly people, especially those who were well-known among the inhabitants of the quarter as recalling more the knowledge concerning the past life of the City and with different socio-cultural backgrounds in order to represent the main aims of the research properly. Detailed information concerning the interviewees is provided in Appendix A.

In total thirty people were interviewed (of them five were women) during the course of fieldwork. The time spent in each interview ranged between two and four hours. Some of the interviews were tape recorded and in the rest notes were taken because the interviewee declined to be recorded. The key people were first identified from an interview with two elderly educated people in England and France, Dr. Mardukh and Dr. Rasheedyân. Their

local background, and the fact that they were educated one as an historian and the other as a geographer, meant that they were familiar with the key people relevant to the subject of the research. The key people can be recognised as those who directed the research to basic knowledge and as the elderly people with knowledge concerning customs and traditions among their neighbours.

3.3.3.3. Direct observation of the existing built form

The building fabric is the most visually obvious carrier of historical information in the townscape (Conzen 1988 quoted in Baker and Slater 1992: 43).

In line with Cullen's view of the drama of juxtaposition and this view of Spaulding (1968 quoted in Watson 1979: 1): "the past can be understood only through the present. All studies of the past are conducted by taking present objects (or present memories) as relics of the past and deriving inferences as to past events from them. The premises by means of which the inferences are drawn are based on observations of present things, events, and relationships", we should rely on vision in order to grasp the traditional city (Bandini 1992). Following this point, the direct observation of the existing built form of the traditional city was recognised as a major method to understand the actual physical configuration and arrangements which have shaped the traditional core of *Sanandaj*. This means using sequential visions to understand the inter-relations of spaces across the circulation system of the quarter selected for the case study and the system which maintained the hierarchy of spaces from public, semi-public to private spaces. This will make clear the process of transition from public to the increasingly private domain. In the words of James Ackerman (1963 quoted in Groat and Wang 2002: 151), this can be called "the direct experience of artefact":

Though we do not read Newton's *Principia* to learn physics, or the Eighteenth Amendment to learn how to control the consumption of alcohol, we do visit the Acropolis at Athens and the Sistine Chapel to experience just what they have to convey".

Here direct experience of urban form was used in order to make a sense of urban form aggregation and to record the physical characteristics of its buildings, their spatial relations and certain aspects of its features which imply a particular view in their building. In some cases, its link with behaviour of people was comprehended directly as that behaviour is maintained, or inferred from reference to the information of the first type - historical records and interviews. From these points, the main advantage of this technique, apart from its greater concern with the behaviour of people, is that "it describes the setting as it is, taking

into account all the variables which have interacted to shape its physical features” (Bechtel and Michelson 1987 cited in Senan 1993: 95).

3.3.3.4. Physical survey

The techniques for preserving observations were the use of fieldwork notes as well as recording on maps and plans, photographic survey, and analytical drawings. These were carried out in accord with the structural guideline explained in the first part of this chapter, the research strategy. First, an analysis of the site and situation of the City was conducted. This was understood as a link to the features of the City, especially the hierarchical natural edges with the defensive walls of the city, recording the form of interaction of the man-made environment with the natural landscape and surrounding area.

Next, the structure of the City was investigated based on its constituent parts. This means examining the way the City’s main elements are actually configured and their spatial relationships. In this regard, the most common tool for recording spatial composition of the built form was the camera (through taking photographs) and drawing in two and three-dimensional views from normal eye level or from photographic records. In justifying the potential of this technique, we can refer to the works of Cullen (1961), Browne (1976) and Tavassoli and Bonyadi (1991, 1992), who tried to read the urban fabric, and “to make the underlying urban structure legible” through the analysis of drawings accompanied with photographs and text which led to visual discourse in the interpretation of urban fabric (Ozaslan 1996: 205).

The potential of analytical drawings is an important point which helps to invite “the viewer to continue the interpretation intended by the author” (Herdeg 1990: 6). This is in line with the view of Igor Stravinsky (quoted in Ewing 2000: 117) stated in the following poetic view:

“Draw me your words and I’ll understand your meaning”

The above two levels of formal analysis, especially their use of analytical drawings, also benefited from the information embedded in old maps, other historical records and the interviewees’ points. In order to make better sense of the constituent elements of the City’s traditional core and its past life, some of the interviewees accompanied the researcher on a visit to the existing built form. This benefited the research in two ways: first it worked as an important tactic to stimulate the interviewee’s memory to recall more information; second it

gave an opportunity to consider some missing points in reconstructing the past image of the city.

After illustrating and interpreting the structure of place by those tactics, the third level of analysis was approached by using direct observation. At this level, after comprehending the structuring elements (both natural and man-made) by making analytical drawings which were drawn based on the information derived from observation of the quarter's existing built form and the content of historical records, investigation (observation and other techniques) started from the main centre (where the main public buildings of the quarter were located and called the *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché/small bazaar*) as a definite line which had a major role in the configuration and composition of the other parts. To some extent, this method of analysis may be traced back to the view of those scholars, who recognised the concept of centre as a starting point to comprehend the structure of built form (Lynch 1960; Alexander 1987; Moughtin 2003).

From the main centre (*Qatâr-chyân bazaarché*), as the integrating point of the activities and social life of the quarter, an intensive photographic survey was conducted in order to identify and record the nature of spatial composition, hierarchical movements across the quarters, the defensive features in the appearance of houses or in the layout of streets, the visual qualities of view in the circulation system of spaces between buildings (serial vision), and the qualities of social relationships between neighbours (social cohesion). This also included the method of connecting the public domain to the private one and the interaction of both domains with the concept of privacy.

In line with the above points, in order to make better sense of information on the nature of the quarter's aggregation, two tactics were used. One was the technique of serial vision to record the sequences of movement from the principal route to the main centre of the quarter. It meant exploring the means of transition from other quarters, mainly the Khan's (or elite's) quarter to the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter. This was implemented by a photographic survey and analytical drawings. Linked with this tactic, another serial vision was adapted to one of the thoroughfares leading from the second centre (*Wakil's Bazaarché*) to a *Maidâncé* in one of the cluster houses. A second tactic was to survey two cluster houses in order to find out the nature of neighbouring structures in the quarter. In this tactic, the analytical drawings of

Rapoport (1977) together with relevant photographs and explanatory texts were used to make clear the sense of neighbourliness and how women negotiate public domains.

3.3.3.5. Observation of the social realm

In concert with the physical survey described above, details of public places were observed, noted and recorded; this was related mostly with women's interactions with the public domain. In this regard, the tactic was to begin observation and record from the highly public domain moving through the semi-public/semi-private spaces, observing the features related to the concept of *Bar-mâl* (the doorstep as one of the main places of women's social interaction) then on into the interior of houses, to find the linkages to the courtyard structure and, hopefully, with the possibility of understanding existing hierarchical relationships. This led us to visit some of the houses and record their composition and the way they linked to public spaces.

More importantly, apart from the nature of above method (a physical survey), its empirical approach can be seen as directing points to understanding the social dimension of the built form, especially when they were enriched by observation of the current use of spaces, the uses that still imply the function of spaces in the past, supported by the knowledge of interviewees and historical records. For discussion of the observation of the current use of spaces, we draw attention to the work of Kheirabadi (1991), who focused on traditional Iranian cities before modernisation covering the same period as the scope of this research. He mainly used the current use of spaces in order to justify interpretations of past conditions, and how people behaved, thus forming particular spaces, especially the processional route to sacred places during the holy month of Muharram. In line with the work of Kheirabadi, especially in the approach to the socio-spatial dimension of built form, Saleh (1995) studied the urban history of traditional settlements in south-western Saudi Arabia. In doing that, he relied mainly on the oral history of the settlements through interviews with elderly people in the settlement and visual surveys of the existing physical form together with a review of relevant literature. In the case of the use of interviews in historical studies he justified it as follows,

In traditional societies without either a written history or widespread literature, oral history passed down from generation to generation often serves as a substitute for written historical accounts (Saleh 1997: 94).

A curious point is that he did not make any quotations from the accounts of interviewees during the research discussion. He simply used their accounts indirectly alongside other methods to reveal the urban history of the settlements.

In approaching the more social dimensions of the built form, the work of Akbar (1988) is notable, as he used visual discourse alongside drawings to emphasise the points under discussion. Through visual survey and supporting historical records, he handles the social dimension of the built form using images which contained the movement and behaviour of people in the physical spaces. More important is his method of investigating the way that social processes produced the traditional environment instead of just analysing the end product. Although, this can be recognised as an important tactic in depicting built environment, it is mainly bound by availability of and access to sufficient information, especially historical studies.

In line with the above notions, we can also consider the recent work of Mortada (2003) concerning the Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment. What he conceptualised is a review of principles derived from Islamic law pertaining to the building practices of the Islamic world. What can be seen is that his work is not a new contribution to the notion of the Islamic city because his work is mainly a review of other works which had been mainly done by Lapidus (1967, 1969), Hakim (1986), Akbar (1988) and Bianca (2000) among others. More importantly, he overemphasised some principles which were only used by rich people and not by commoners, who formed the bulk of the Islamic community. Hence, his methodology can be seen as a literature review and document analysis with a photographic survey and drawings, mainly acquired from other research.

3.4. Analysis strategy

While mathematics is generally thought to be the language of science, data analysis is the language of research (George and Mallery 1995 quoted in Shawesh 2000: 102).

After collecting data from direct and indirect observation of the traditional core of the City involving visual analysis, documentary survey and interviews, the next steps of such interpretive-historical research are “sorting data and building explanations”, analysis and interpretation (Mason 2002: 147). Accordingly, the first task of the researcher is categorising and indexing the information according to subjects and issues. As Mason (2002: 151, 153) indicates, this will give the researcher an ability “to focus and organize the retrieval of

sections of information, or its elements, for the purpose of some form of further analysis or manipulation”, and to get a sense of the scope and coverage of their data, so this process can also help researchers in their conceptual, analytical and theoretical thinking. The major advantage of this technique is to identify how far these data address the questions and theoretical concerns of the research. Yin (1994: 104) emphasised the role of research propositions in helping the researcher “to focus on certain data and to ignore other data”.

Bearing in mind the above points, the collected information was categorised according to the structure of inquiry referred to earlier. In practice that means the data concerning the City’s foundation and its development over the course of time was grouped in one theme entitled Historical Background; information concerning the site and situation of the City was another theme labelled, Geophysical Setting of the City. The next theme was called Morphological Components and comprised data connected with the total structure of the City. And the final theme was information concerning the quarter selected for the case study. As the last theme comprised the main part of the research, it was categorised into two main issues, those concerning the social and the physical contexts. The social issues contained information regarding Kurdish habits and traditions in general and socio-cultural information specific to the quarter selected for the case study. Physical issues comprised data in connection with structuring physical elements, such as public urban elements, the circulation system of the quarter and houses.

After sorting the data, content analysis was used to match the information with the main aim, questions, and proposition of the research. This brought the research to the final step, interpretation of the data, in order to identify the process of city formation, the shaping factors, and, later, the underlying design principles of the City’s traditional core. In this step, one of the key issues was to view as much evidence as possible by using different sources and comparing the case under investigation with other cases in the major contexts of the City: the notion of the Islamic and Iranian cities. This enriched the content of our interpretation through searching for any contrary evidence or alternative interpretations (Yin 1994). The major theme of the analysis section of the research was building an interpretation process by searching for similarities and differences in both the contexts mentioned.

In some parts of the data analysis, where information was available, a kind of triangulation was adopted by using different sources in investigating one issue. To some extent, this

minimized the risk of mistakes and bias that might occur when using a single information source and paved the way for more imagination and better interpretation by the researcher. For example, visual discourse concerning women's negotiation of the public domain and the distinctiveness of its character from other Islamic cities - mainly Iranian cities - was enriched by cross-referencing it to historical records and oral history.

3.5. Summary

The aim of this chapter was to build a framework, a methodological approach, for the analysis section of the research. It was conducted on the basis of two principles of inquiry, rooted in the conceptual framework presented in the second chapter. This led the research to identify the necessary methods for generating information relevant to the main aim and questions of the research. In this regard, two major methods were employed to collect as much evidence as possible, each major method comprised sub-methods.

The perspective of the research approach has mainly emphasised the two realms of the social and the physical dimensions of built form, hence the investigation was carried out relevant to these two major contexts of the City. The investigation started from the macro-level context and progressed to the micro-level: that is, site and situation, the City and its own structure, the quarter and then the houses. It was conceived that this hierarchical sequence would assist in defining the major determinants of the City's built form, in deciphering the underlying shaping design principles at each level of investigation and in comprehending the configuration and composition of the City's parts.

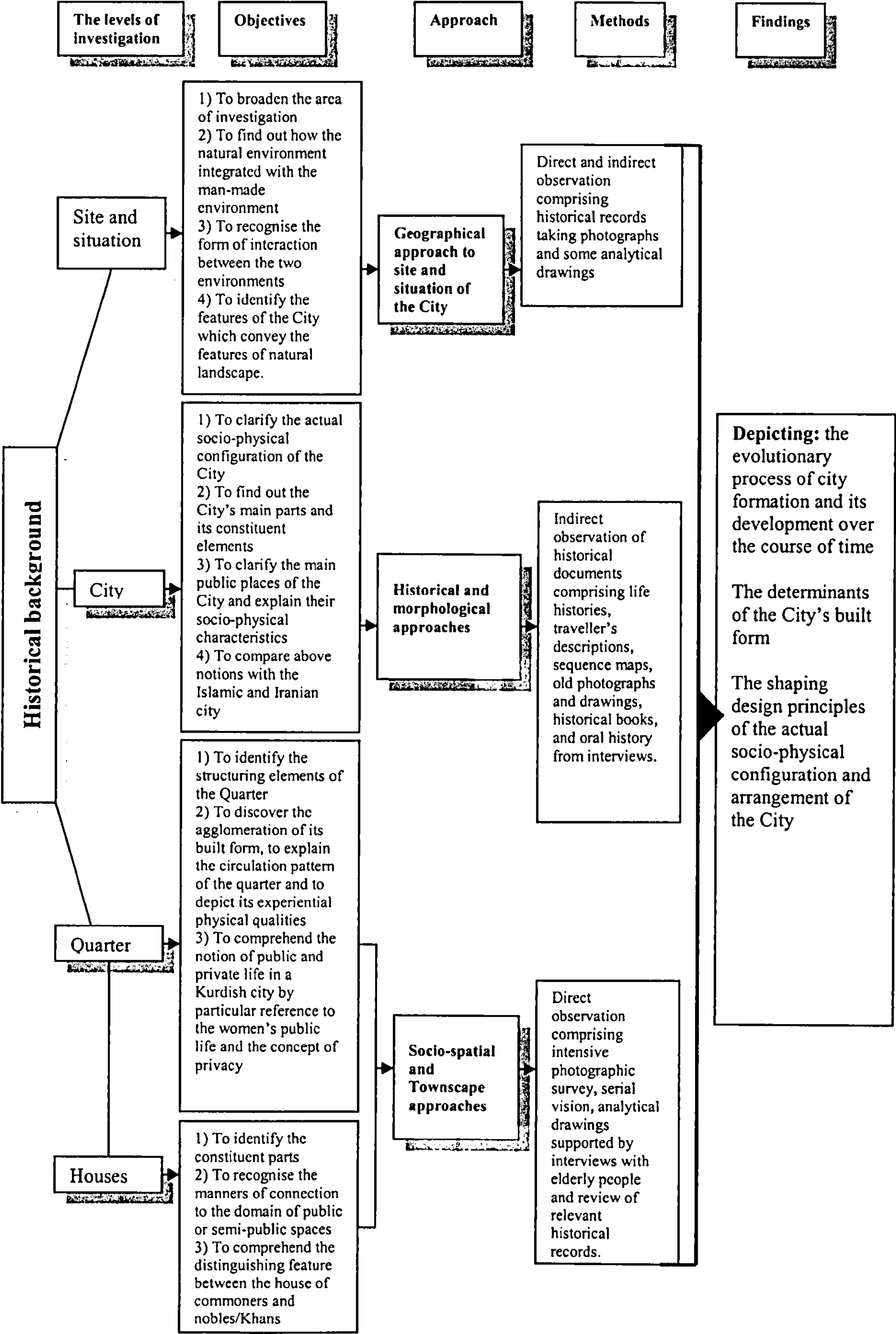


Figure 3. 1. Summary of the research methodology adopted in the fieldwork

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4.1. Introduction¹

Each city has its own story to tell, but not all are recorded, and what is true of one city at one period is not necessarily true of all periods or of other cities (Lambton 2001: 617).

Following from the research methodology, especially the research strategy and its first principle concerning the city formation through the course of time, this chapter examines the history of a traditional Kurdish settlement *Sanandaj* located in western Iran and the capital of Kurdistan province. It aims to go back into history to build a narrative text which makes clear the process of city formation and development through time. This will make sense of changes that have occurred and the socio-political events and dynamics that gave the City its particular character distinct from that of other cities.

Based on historical records, this chapter will address two main periods: before and after the *Safavid* period. The *Safavid* dynasty, especially the period of *Shâh Safi* (1629-42) which covers the time of the City's foundation, is an indicator point dividing these periods. The chapter is concerned with the times before and after that period up to the *Pahlavi* dynasty (1925-1979), the period of modernisation which led to huge socio-economic and physical changes in Iranian cities. Based on the historical evidence and an analysis of the remaining built form of the city, most of the discussion is devoted to the second period, the period which contained many sub periods and the whole of the City's evolution. Although, the first period does not relate directly to the City it aims to give a clear picture of the region and the factors which resulted in the City's foundation and its subsequent spatial organisation. The aim is to reveal the evolutionary process of city building leading to a conceptualisation of its main shaping factors.

4.2. The period before the foundation of the City

This consists of two periods: before Islam and during the Caliphate up to the Mongol invasion.

4.2.1. Before Islam

For this period, the local and other historical records did not show any clear trace of a city on the site of *Sanandaj*. But the presence of sacred sites within the City implies that the site of the City was an arena for human settlements in the period before Islam, especially during the

¹ The content of this chapter was published as an article in the Journal of Kurdish studies: Volume 5 Date: 2003-2004, Pages: 103-126

Median and Sassanid Empire (728-550 BCE, 224-641 A.D.). The period of Sassanid was characterised by the religion of Zoroaster. These include the mound of *Toos-Nauzar* in the east of the city, a place of a great Iranian champion which lies like sleeping turtles upon the landscape and the *Âwear* Mountain in the south as “the second place of Zoroaster’s inspiration” (Dultshahi 1984: 88, 150) (figure 4.1, 4.2).

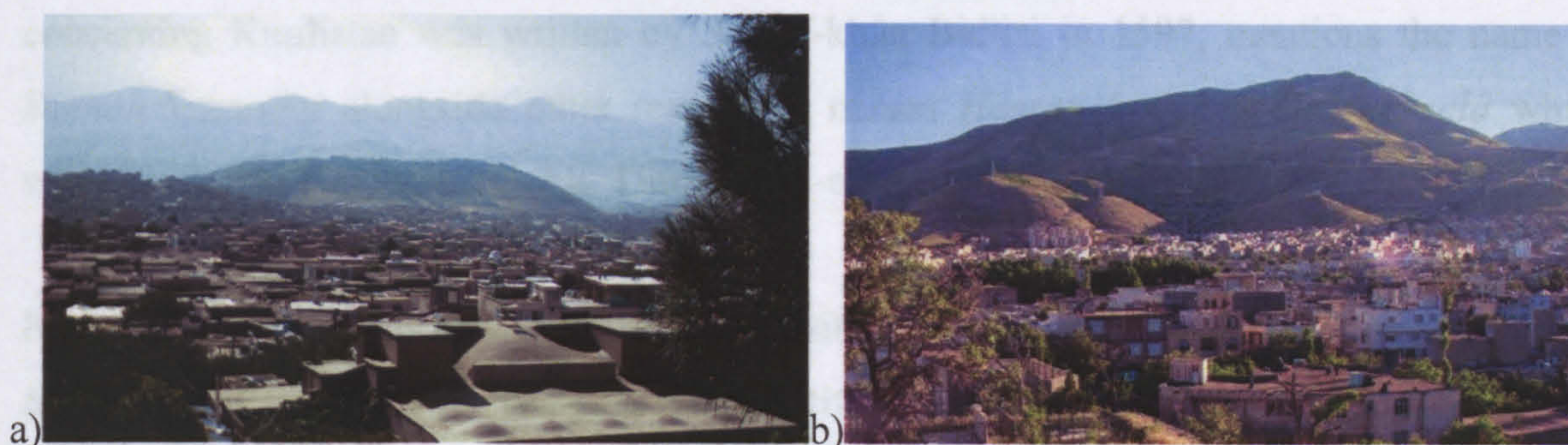


Figure 4. 1. The sacred heights of *Toos-nauzar* (a) and *Âwear* (b), sources: a) photo author August 2003, b) sanandaj.com

First, View from the *Qalâ*'s hill towards the hill of *Toos-nauzar* (August 2003). Second view from the cemetery of *Sheikhân* towards the *Âwear* Mountains

In supporting the above view, Mardukh (2000: 263) says;

The main residents of *Sennah-dej* (Sanandaj) were the clan of *Zarien-kawsh* (golden shoes), who were the followers of *Toos-nauzar*². The foothold of the famous *Toos-nauzar* was the hill down from the city, which separates the city from the river of *Qeshlâq* (winter quarter).

The hill became known as the hill of *Toos-nauzar*. This hill is significant as it acted as a point of reference for the City's orientation, especially its main elements.

4.2.2. The Islamic Empire up to the Mongol invasion

For the period of the Islamic Empire onwards, especially the period after the Caliphate, there are some points in literature and even some evidence on the site which confirm the presence of settlement on the site of the city. For example, *Waqâyi-nigâr* Kurdistanî (2002: 27, the original text of this book was written in 1891) says that

Sennah/Sandandaj was built by the *Wâli Sulaymân Khân* on the ruined site of an earlier settlement.

² *Toos-nauzar* was the great Iranian *Shâh* in the period of the Median Empire, 728 - 550 BCE, who made the hill of *Toos-nauzar* into his foothold and hunting-ground.

Apart from this, he also refers to the cemetery of *Sheikhân*, located in the west of the city (figure 4.2), which contained old graves of *Mashâeikhs* (plural of sheikh) which date back nine hundred years. Other local historians (Sanandaji 1996 the original was transcribed in 1862; Mardukh 2000) also used these items of evidence in order to justify the presence of human settlements on the site of the city in that period. More importantly, the oldest book concerning Kurdistan was written by Sharaf-khân Bidlisi in 1597, mentions the name of *Sennah/Sanandaj* alongside other residential names *Hassan-âwâ* and *Qezelja-qalâ* which were granted as fief to Sultan Ali, Timur-khân-e Ardalân's son³ (Bidlisi 1994: 124).

For other evidence on the site itself, it is possible to draw attention to the graves of *Hâjara Khâtoon* and *Peer Omar*. The first was identified by local historians as the sister of Imam *Rezâ* (the eighth Imam of the Shiite sect). It was located beside the course of the city's wall close to the north gate and the probable main caravan route to the west of Kurdistan and the Iraq region (figure 4.2). In the case of the second grave, there are differences among the historians: some identify it as the grave of Imam *Ali*'s son (the first Shiite Imam and the fourth Sunni Caliph) and some others ascribe it to Imam *Ali Zain AL-âbedin*, the fourth Shiite Imam. Its location is close to the seat of power, the *Qalâ* or citadel (figure 4.2) adjacent to the *Arg* the square in front of the *Qalâ*.

The presence of these graves highlights the site of *Sanandaj* as an important place during the Islamic Empire because the Imams and their descendants usually settled in and visited important and populated regions in order to carry out their duties in guiding the people towards the religion of Islam. In line with the above evidence, as witnessed by most historians (Minorsky 1934, Matheson 1972, Nikitin, 1956, Bayat 1988) there was a main centre on the site of *Sanandaj* or just near to it named *Sisar* (thirty heads). Vasilyeva (2000: 1) argues that the foundation of this city can be traced back to the period of Caliphate as a centre to 'keep a military contingent in order to maintain the contacts with Kurds'. Although, due to the lack of archaeological works there is no clear agreement among local and other historians about the City's history, especially before and after the arrival of Islam up to the Safavid Dynasty, the above points mean that we can be confident that the site of *Sanandaj* was populated before its foundation up to the Mongol invasion.

³ One of the Ardalâns' ruler in 1578-1589

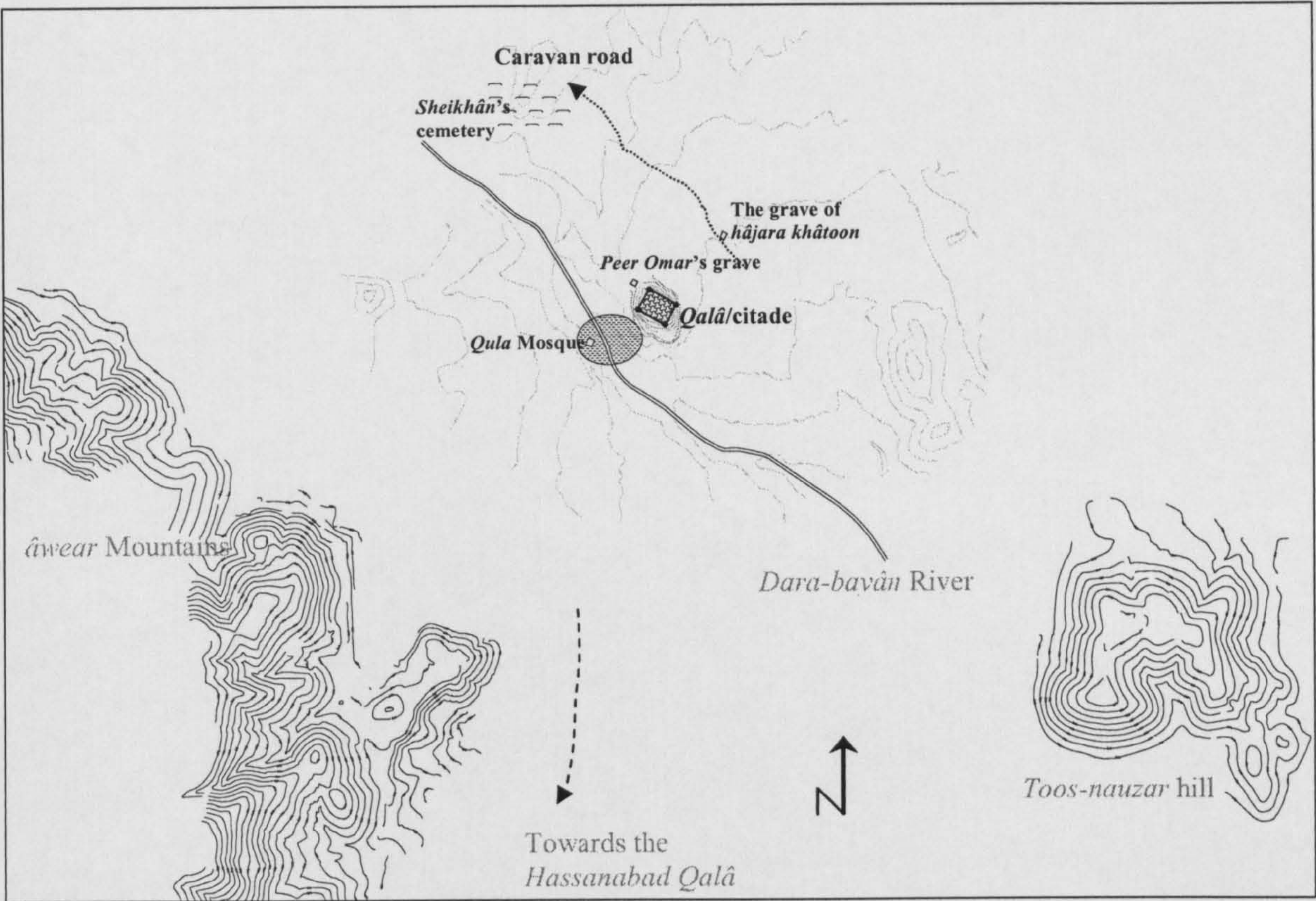


Figure 4. 2. The main features of the city site before its foundation



The *Qalâ*/citadel on the top of the hill overlooking the *Dara-bayân* Rive
Settlements

4.2.3. The period of mound-cities

Evidence has been presented by many historians that the intrusion of the Mongols (13th century) caused the collapse of city organisation and stable government in Iran. This means that, the nomadic way of life dominated over a settled way of life, which led to the demolition of many cities even throughout Kurdistan, and to the formation of what Habibi (1996) defines as the concept of “defence-plunder”. In addition to the city of *Sisar* there were a number of other flourishing cities in the region, for instance *Shahrizour*, *Abhar* and *Suhravard* which were destroyed by the Mongols (Vasilyeva, 2000). These invasions and later on the division of the Middle East into two, warring empires (Persian and Ottoman), with their line of fire being the heartland of Kurdistan (Izady 1992) resulted in devastating wars in later periods, especially during the times of *Timurids* and *Turkmen*. As human settlements were, in general, at high risk of attack and being plundered, the surviving inhabitants took refuge in strongly fortified and shrunken urban islands on the tops of the high mountains in order to defend themselves (Izady 1992). This movement recalled older

concepts of city organisation in the form of mound-cities or *Qalâ*-city built in inaccessible places. The root of this kind of city can be traced back to the period of the Median Empire (728-550 BC), when the organisation of the country was based on mound cities located in strategic places. It usually comprised a strong *Qalâ* (castle) on the top of a mound which implied a planned structure (figure 4.3). The settlements were usually located on the slope of the mound and behind the battlement walls of the *Qalâ* (Habibi 1996).

Such settlements were a kind of regression in the face of the circumstances created by the Mongol invasion.

“The history pendulum moved toward the pastoral morpheme, tribal traditions and nomad settlements” (Vasilyeva, 2000:3).

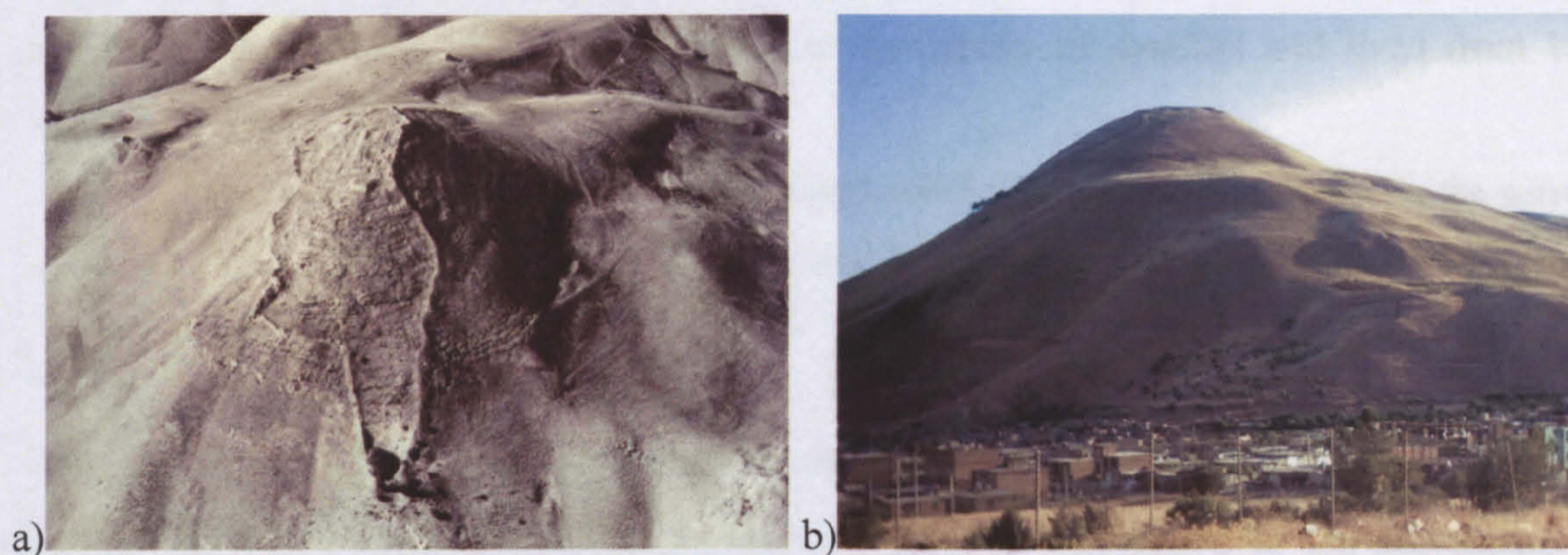


Figure 4. 3. *Hassan-âwâ Qalâ*, sources: a) first from Schmidt 1940, b) author 2003]

a): oblique aerial view of the remnants of *Hassan-âwâ Qalâ* from the period of mound cities which shows its planned structure, b): view from the north towards the place of the *Qalâ* and the existing settlement in the valley

Because of the above circumstances in the region, it appears that the site of *Sanandaj* became unpopulated or disregarded by the rulers as a seat of power for several centuries; instead people lived on the top of inaccessible mounds and places in the *Zagros* mountain range (figure 4.3). For this same reason, the literature shows no trace of settlement as a town on the site of *Sanandaj* from the Mongol period up to the foundation of the city in 1637/39. The only exceptions are the explanations of local historians about the etymology of *Sanandaj*. Sanandaji (1996), Mardukh (2000) and Kurdistani (2002) propose the following explanation that follows; when *Wâli Sulaymân Khân* was charged to move the seat of power to another place by *Shâh Safi*, he selected the site of *Sanandaj*, where there was a village named *Sennah*. As he created or reconstructed the *Qalâ* which was close to the village, it was known as *Sennah's Qalâ* (*Sennah-dej*). Continuous use of these two words has merged them into one word - *Sanandaj*.

Although, the return to defensive cities appeared to be a step backwards because it formed small size cities capable of housing only a few thousand inhabitants at most, “they were actual towns or cities, many of which boasted a local aristocracy who fostered art and culture. Almost every luminary in Kurdish culture life of the early modern times was nurtured and supported in these castle-like towns and cities” (Izady 1992: 122). It also led to a kind of semi-independent government structure because of the inaccessible situations of the mound-cities in the *Zâgros* Mountains, which lasted nearly four centuries. More importantly, it gave rise to the *Ardalân* family as rulers of Kurdistan for more than seven centuries (1168-1867) (Izady 1992). On the importance of those *Qalâs*, Mastwra Khânûm (quoted in Sharafkandi 2002: 62), who wrote the history of *Ardalân* and lived from 1805-1848, said:

I have seen that the ambassadors of Russia and England visited Kurdistan, in the period of *Amanulâh-Khân* the great (1800-1825), in order to view the greatness of the *Qalâ*'s remains [*Hasan-âwâ Qalâ*].

The above way of organising the region with a pattern of castellated cities on the top of inaccessible mountains and the long period of Kurdish connection to the mountains area confines led to the argument that Kurd and mountain are two inseparable entities. For Nikitine (quoted in Kasraian et al 1990: 22) :

The plain and their rulers require the Kurds to be obedient and a slave, whereas the rough nature of the mountains challenges them to fight.

To such an extent that:

Where the land reaches the plain areas, Kurds are replaced by the Arab, Turks and Persians. (Nikitine 1987: 104)

This point can be witnessed in the history of the region, especially when the mound cities were destroyed and the city of *Sanandaj* was erected on a relatively flat site to contain the people from the ruined *Qalâs*. As history shows and the following account will reveal, this act, of moving down the people from castellated cities to the plain areas, gradually caused the collapse of the semi-independent structure of Kurdistan to a dependent government under the control of the central government of Iran in the period of *Naser o-Din Shah*, (1848-1896).

As explained above, one result of the Mongol invasion was the rise of the *Ardalân* family as the rulers of Kurdistan, and the formation of four powerful fortresses in different parts of the region. The founder of the *Ardalân* lineage was Baba *Ardalân*, who was known as a descendant of *Ardashir Bâbakân* (the founder of the *Sassanid* dynasty in 226 A.D) (Ardalan 1833: 4) and who reconstructed the fortresses in order to extend and maintain the power of his family over the region of Kurdistan.

4.2.3.1. Four castellated cities

To understand the above castles and their locations, it is possible to refer to the information provided by Vasilyeva (2000), who reviewed the most important records about the City, and Babani (1998), Kurdistani (2002) and Mardukh (2000), as well as the transcripts of the history and geography of Kurdistan edited by Tavakuli. These sources show that under the leadership of *Kulul* (1258/656-1271/669), the son of *Bâbâ Ardalân*, other *Qalâs* were reconstructed as he changed his seat of power from the castle of *Zalm* in the Iraqi region, far to the west of *Sanandaj*, to *Pâlangân* located far to the south of *Sanandaj*. In this location, he also expanded his power and the territory of *Ardalân* to other regions by reconstructing two other *Qalâs* at *Marivân* in the west and *Hasan-âwâ* to the south of *Sanandaj*. The locations of these *Qalâs* comprised the whole land of *Ardalân*, especially if we view it in a linear form across the territory of *Ardalân* (figure 4.4).

As the local chronicles explain, each *Qalâ* contained the main elements of a traditional Iranian town including the bazaar, mosque and *Hammâm* (bath house) in the absence of an active central city in the region. They were well defined by nature and man-made structures as castellated towns on the top of inaccessible mounds. That way of settling in the natural landscape was continued by other rulers of the *Ardalân* family up to the period of *Shâh Safi* in the first half of 17th century.

The important point is the way the *Qalâs* were used by the *Ardalân* rulers. As local historians indicate, *Halo-khân* (1590-1616) used the *Qalâs* as “mobile-capitals” due to the change of seasons in order to strengthen his power over the whole region of Kurdistan. For example, Mardukh (1972, quoted in Sharafkandi 2002: 66) indicates that *Halo-Khân* used these *Qalâs* as follows:

Zalm as a winter *Qalâ*,
Marivân during the autumn,

Pâlangân during the spring and (figure 4.5) *Hasan-âwâ* as summer *Qalâ* and the main centre for *Ardalân* government close to the site of *Sanandaj* (seven kilometres).

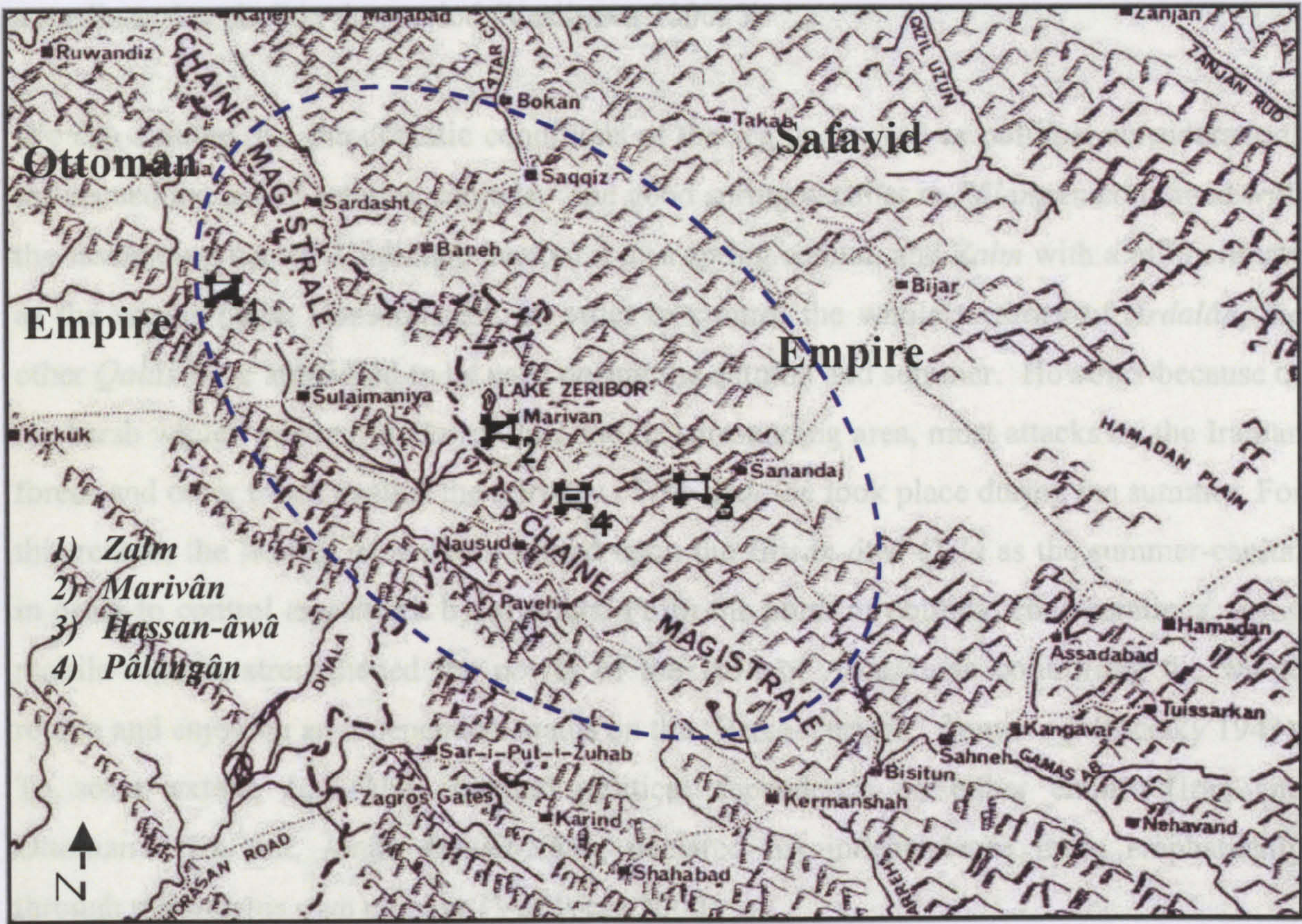


Figure 4. 4.The locations of four *Qalâs* in the territory of *Ardalân* on the frontiers of two empires (Ottoman and *Safavid*)

Source: Levine 1974

It was one of the mobile-capitals of *Ardalân* government before the City's foundation

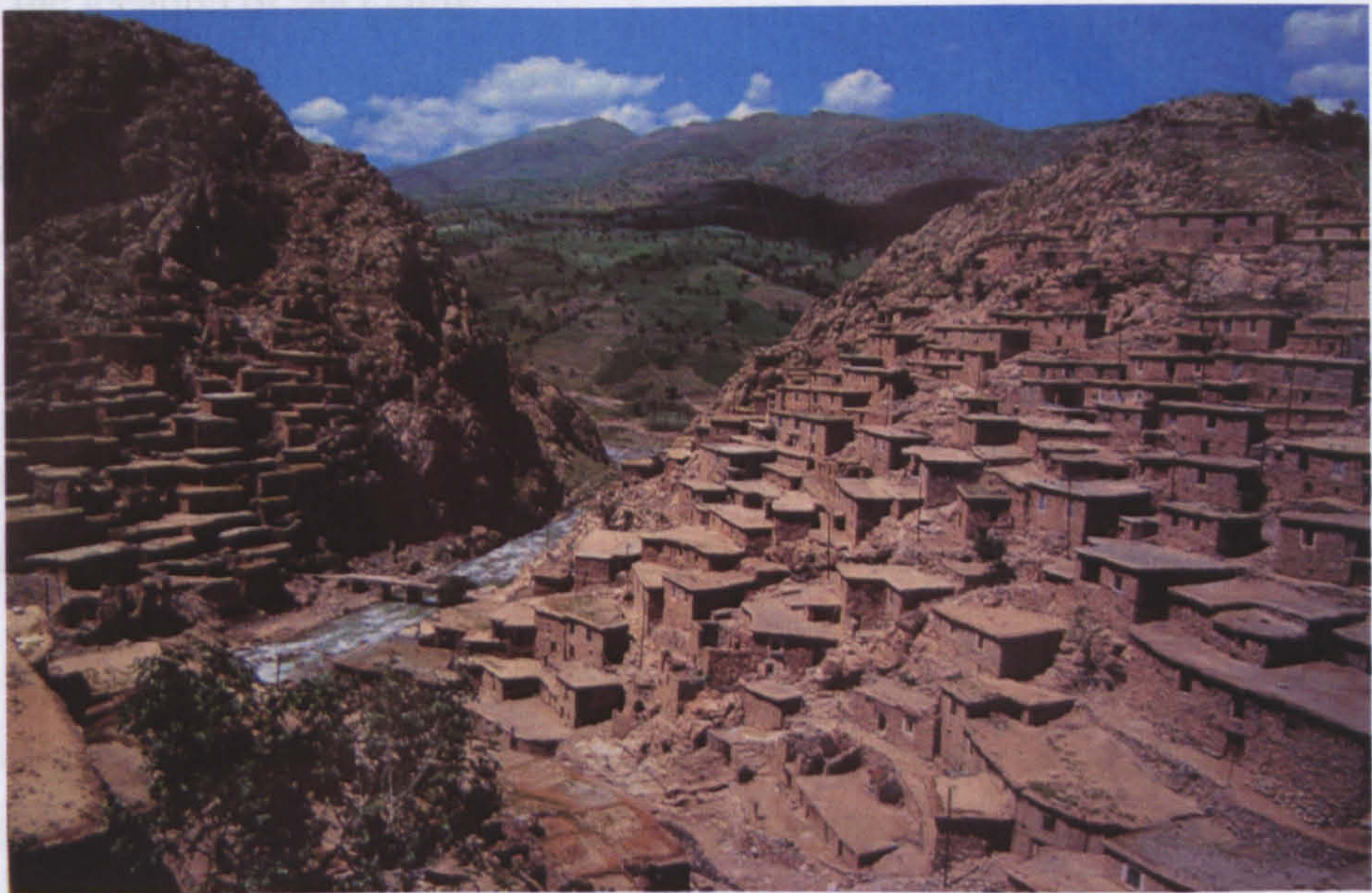
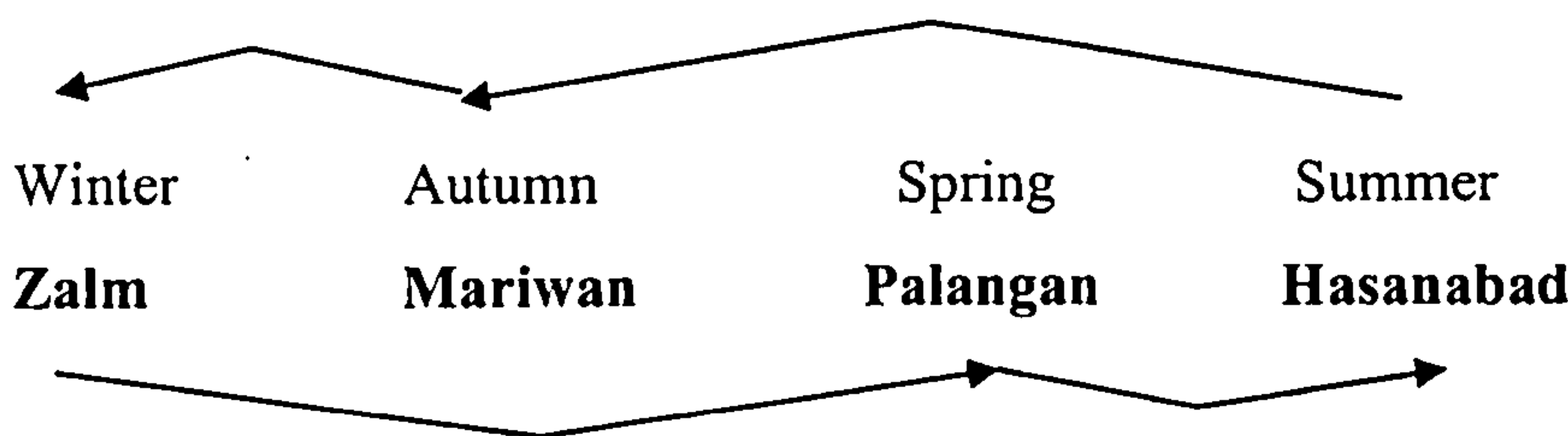


Figure 4. 5. The Village of *Pâlangân*, source: *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

To illustrate the importance of the above way of life, it is necessary to say that in the period of *Khân Ahmad-Khân* (1616-1636), “the inhabitants of *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ* were numbered two thousands families or at least twelve thousands people that is equivalent of the population of a medium size city” in that period (Vasilyeva 2000: 3).

We can assume that the climatic conditions of the region as well as political considerations influenced the use of rotating capitals. The good spring weather in *Pâlangân* combined with the fascinating natural landscape marked it as a spring capital, and *Zalm* with a mild climate as the winter *Qalâ*. Consequently, in order to control the whole territory of *Ardalân*, the other *Qalâs* were appointed to be used during the autumn and summer. However because of the harsh winter weather in *Hasan-âwâ* and its surrounding area, most attacks by the Iranian forces and other tribes against the territory of the *Ardalân* took place during the summer. For this reason, the leaders of *Ardalân* settled upon the *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ* as the summer-capital in order to control any attack by invaders. From the point of political considerations, using mobile-capitals strengthened the power of the *Wâli* of *Ardalân* in controlling the whole region and enjoying an independent status on the “Perso-Turkish” frontiers (Minorsky 1943). To some extent, *Halo-khân* ignored political dependence on either empire (Iran and Ottoman). His son, *Khân Ahmad-Khân*, declared his independence more emphatically through minting his own coinage (Vasilyeva 2000).

The above system of mobile capitals can be imagined as follows by reference to the figure 4.4 which indicates the location of the *Qalâs*:



In this diagram the *Hasan-âwâ* and *Zalm Qalâs* were used as the points of departure and arrival, as the former is in the southeast and the latter in the north west of *Ardalân* territory.

4.2.3.2. Moving down from castellated cities

The time of *Wâli Halo-khân* coincided with the time of *Shâh Abbâs* the Great (1587-1629), and the independent status of the *Wâli* was intolerable to *Shâh Abbâs* who ensnared him with a political device. At that time, the main policy of *Shâh Abbâs* the First involved major

reforms in the land policy and military organisation of the *Safavid* dynasty, a return to the old concept of state in the period of *Sâssâniân*, defined by Lambton (1991) as the growth of “absolutism”. As Lambton indicates, *Shâh Abbâs* did not want to rely any more on the tribal troops. So, he tried to reform the military organisation using non-tribal elements by assigning the land and its revenue to the government representatives in each province of the country. This means that the *Shâhs* were the main landlords of the state which based on special circumstances could assign the land to their representatives. These policies were used in the province of *Ardalân* with a different purpose. As the leaders of the *Safavid* were aware of the long term stability of the *Ardalân Khâns* and their great power in the region, they tried to engage them into their government through intermarriage and later on by assigning the land and ceding some parts of the state. This was an attempt towards “Iranicising” the *Ardalân* family.

Local chronicles related that *Shâh Abbâs* the Great was confronted with great problems in conquering the territory of *Ardalân*. His troops were defeated several times by the power of *Wâli Halo-khân*, especially by the strong structure and strategic position of the *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ*. In order to overcome this problem, *Shâh* compromised with the *Wâli* through intermarriage and *Khân Ahmad-Khân*, *Wâli*'s son, was married to the *Shâh*'s sister. Apart from conquering the territory of *Ardalân*, the main motive behind this decision was the further Iranicising of the *Ardalân* family and attracting them into the camp of Iran rather than that of the Ottoman Empire on other side of the *Zâgros* Mountains.

Other convincing evidence comes from Safrastian (1948: 42) who stresses *Shâh Abbâs*'s policy of Iranicising the Kurdish people.

He commissioned Prince *Sharafedin*, the famous Kurdish historian and a scion of the *Sharaf Khân* Dynasty of *Bitlis*, to write, in Persian, a history of the Kurdish tribes and their genealogies. His aim was, of course, to arouse the hereditary pride of the Kurds to recall their ancient associations with Persia and the east, and thus to divert their attention from the Ottoman Empire.

From one perspective, the above political manoeuvre of *Shâh Abbâs* can be recognized as a starting point in changing the seat of power from mound cities to relatively flat areas. In this regard, the evidence of history is in the later period (after *Wâli Halo-khân*) when power was transferred to the *Wâli*'s son (*Khân Ahmad-khan*, the son-in-law of *Shâh Abbâs*) by the order

of *Shâh* during the life time of the *Wâli*. It was the first time that the power to appoint the next ruler in Kurdistan had fallen to the *Shâh* rather than the present *Wâli*.

In line with above notion, Ahmadi⁴ and Marufi⁵ claim that *Khân Ahmad-khân* first had the idea of changing the seat of power because he was influenced by the views of his wife. They argue that the evidence supporting this claim lay in the civic way of life of the *Wâli*'s wife as a princess in the court of Isfahân. From this point, they believe that the garden complex of *Bâq-mayân* (on north side of the city which later composed the quarter of *Chahâr-bâg*) was first created by *Khân Ahmad-khân* to please his wife. Vasilyeva (2000: 4) also points out that:

the garden ensemble of *Bâq-mayân* was created from the remnants which existed from the time preceding the *Wâlis* of *Ardalân*

But, as the responsibilities of power did not give him enough opportunity, he could not pursue the idea of changing the seat of power to the site of *Sanandaj* and it was carried out by his successor who was appointed by the Court of the *Safavid* Empire.

For Vasilyeva (2000: 3), the main inducement to return to the city was the conclusion of the Iran-Turkey peace treaty of *Zuhâb* on 17 May 1639 – “they decided to destroy all Kurdish citadels”. Under the terms of this peace treaty, *Sulaymân-khân Ardalân* (who was one of the commanders of *Shâh Safi*'s army) was ordered to move his residential site from the fortresses and to destroy them. This meant centralizing the government of Kurdistan in a single point accessible to the Iranian state, creating a gateway for the government to control the region through local representatives. At a later period this policy was also employed by the Ottoman Empire on the eastern side of the *Zâgros* Mountains under the control of the *Bâbân* family, which resulted in the formation of *Sulaymania* as counterpart to *Sanandaj*. From this point and contrary to most local historians, the above date was recognised as a starting point of city formation by Vasilyeva. Although, this date indicates two years difference from that most local chronicles propose, it can be seen as a logical reason for the foundation of *Sanandaj* because the purpose of the peace treaty was recognised as defining the new boundaries between the two Empires (Roemer 1968).

⁴ Interviewed 03.07.2003

⁵ Interviewed 03.08.2003

In line with above view, there is evidence in the local chronicles which to some extent justifies the view of Vasilyeva. An attack took place on the region of Kurdistan and Baghdad by the Ottomans just one year after the settling of the *Wâli* of *Ardalân* (*Sulayman-khân*) in 1637. As this intrusion defeated the Iranian forces and led to the loss of Baghdad and some parts of Mesopotamia, *Shâh Safi* had to strengthen the central position of power in Kurdistan in order to create a strong buffer against any future attacks from his rival (Roemer 1968; Sanandaji 1996; Kurdistani 2002). Hence, he forced the *Wâli* of *Ardalân* to change the seat of power from the mound-cities to the site of *Sanandaj*. This defines the changing of the seat of power as falling in the year following the accession of the new *Wâli* to the government of Kurdistan. This also makes clear that the change of capital was not a direct decision taken by the *Wâli* of *Ardalân* but it was imposed by the *Shâh* of Iran. From this perspective, the word *Gkamhâ* (sorrows), “the word that was applied for the time of city foundation by Gnostics” (Kurdistani 2000: 27), can be applied to the act of the *Wâli* because he was compelled under circumstances of military duress to change the seat of power and create a city.

The above review characterised the historical background, which resulted in the emergence of the City as the period, 1168 to 1639, which was the time of mound cities and a major opportunity for the *Ardalân* family to rise, to take possession of and to maintain power as the rulers of Kurdistan up to 1867. It meant more than six centuries of domination by this family over the region. To some extent, the region was recognised by many local and non local chronicles as the province of *Ardalân* instead of Kurdistan. More importantly, for local people, the name of this family recalls the City’s history, especially its splendid image, which the following account aims to present by looking to the different periods and events which influenced the image of the city.

4.3. The period of city foundation and early development (1639-1656)

From this point onwards, the study will focus on the City’s formation and development in the geographical context which embraced the City and the time which was defined as the starting point of the City’s foundation.

4.3.1. Selection of the City’s setting

From the first review of the background of the City, it was found that the political importance of the City far outweighed its economic function. This means that its political dimension was the main stimulus for City’s formation and even its later development. In line

with this view and that the founders of the city, mainly *Wâli Sulaymân-khân Ardalân*, were aware of four centuries experience of castellated-cities as a strong point for security, the core of the City was again settled on the top of a hill, where it gave a convincing sense of being and the possibility of overlooking the surrounding areas. However, the new experience of place needed to be different from the previous one (mound-cities) because it was intended to project a structure for a new city. From this perspective, the seat of power, in contrast with previous generations, needed to be settled in a position which could facilitate the structure of a medium size city⁶, the City was to be known in the future as the capital of *Ardalân* by merging the mobile capitals in the *Qalâs*. This means that the seat of power is still the main core but in a joint structure with other parts to create an entity named the City of *Sennah-dej* (*Sanandaj*). In line with this argument, although, there are many hills on the site of the city with different dimensions, for instance the large hill of *Toos-Nauzar* which dominated the macro and micro-regional settings of the city (the close and distant boundaries of the site of the city) in the east, but the seat of power was fixed on a hill in the centre of the site, where it was possible for the other elements of the city to be structured around it (figure 4.2).

Other factors were also important in selection the seat of power. The main one is the sacred site of Peer Omar close to the top of the hill which gives a ritual importance to the place. The next one could have been the availability of the remnants of an old *Qalâ* on the hill and settlements around which gave a point of reference to the founders to settle there. In addition to those factors, we can mention the existence of a caravan road to the other parts of Kurdistan in the west of *Zâgros* close to the site of the *Qalâ* which also formed the course of second wall of the city around the quarter of nobles (figure 6.3).

4.3.2. *Inhabitants of the city*

After settling and building the main part of the city, the next important issue was the population of the city and how it could be supplied. In this regard, the review of local chronicles did not produce any convincing views or explanations. For example, Mardukh (1972: 48) says that ‘the city of *Sanandaj* was built based on military motivation and as a political centre to house a small number of *Khâns* and their relatives. From the point of its location, as the capital of Kurdistan, it attracted many professions leading to its development in the course of time’. The author’s view is not in opposition to this idea, but the more

⁶ In this regard, Marufi (interviewed 27.08.2003) claimed that the structure of the city was conceived for thirty thousands people by its founders.

important issue in the first period of City foundation is the challenge of accommodating the population of the four castellated cities which could no longer be maintained because of the their destruction. As described previously, the *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ* contained about twelve thousand people in the period of *Khân Ahmad-khân* (1616-1637), the time immediately before the City's foundation. What we can make out is that, these people along with inhabitants of other *Qalâs* were moved to the site of the city in order to supply its population.

The inhabitants of *Hasan-âwâ* were moved by *Sulaymân-khân Ardalân* to the place of the future capital. (Vasilyeva, 2000: 4)

As *Sulaymân-khân Ardalân* was ordered to destroy the other *Qalâs* in favour of a new one on the site of *Sanandaj*, their inhabitants presumably faced the problem of homelessness. Therefore, in order to solve this problem and to supply the population of the city, the logical response was to move those people to the new seat of power. In addition, the *Khâns* needed people as servants and traders (Ahmadi⁷, local historian). However the Khans and their relatives alone could not generate the idea of creating a new city as the capital of Kurdistan.

As the issue of population has been raised, it is important to talk about the City's minorities and how they settled in the City. In this regard, again none of the local historians had any explanation. Based on the evidence of Kinneir (1813: 144), the city in that early period contained "about eight thousands souls which of those numbers two thousands were Jews, Armenians, and Nestorians". This is a notable number of minorities for a medium sized Islamic city in that period. The origin of these people can be accounted for by reference to *Shâh Abbâs* (1587-1629) and his policy to implement the "transfer of three thousand Armenians families from the Azarbâijjan city of Julfâ to Isfahân" (Roemer 1968: 271).

There are some contradictions in the views of the interviewees (mostly local historians), as some believe many of these people lived on the site of the city before its formal foundation. For example, Ahmadi (a local historian) claims that the roots of these people can be traced back to two sources: firstly the existing people on the site of *Sanandaj*, and secondly the people who were living in some of the villages in the territory of *Ardalân*. After the establishment of the City, especially because of its security under the fortified walls and supervision by the strong *Safavid* central government, they migrated there and formed those minorities. Generally speaking, from the above perspectives and the view of Nikitine (who

⁷ Interviewed 03.07.2003

was the Russian Consul in 1915-1918 and who published a book called *Kurds and Kurdistan*):

If the overambition of a Kurd is to grasp the leadership, the overambition of an Armenian is to take the position of a leader's treasurer, thus, they complete each other" (Nikitine 1987: 178),

It is likely that the leaders of *Ardalân*, echoing what Shah *Abbâs* did in Isfahân, tried to gather those minorities in order to supply the city's needs in terms of trade and commercial activities. Kinneir (1813), who entered the city in 1813, observed that those people were engaged in trade with Mosul, Baghdad and Isfahân.

4.3.3. Construction of the City

Apart from the questions concerning the population, there are also no clear explanations in the historical records of local historians about the City's foundation or how the *Wâli* allotted each part of the city to particular people or its main elements. What they emphasise is that *Sulaymân-Khân Ardalân* moved from *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ* to the site of *Sanandaj* by order of *Shâh Safi* (Sanandaji 1996; Mardukh 2000). With this move, the *Wâli*, who had lived in Isfahân and experienced it as a splendid city, tried to build a city similar in splendour to Isfahân but on a smaller scale. For this reason, he invited professions such as architects, stonemasons and carpenters from Isfahân "to revive what was left from the city which had actually disappeared" and to build new mosques, *Hammâms*, *Madrassa*, the bazaar and bridges around the *Qalâ* (Vasilyeva 2000: 4) and a range of *Qanâts* (subterranean canals) for the main mansions of the city.

From the above descriptions, we can see how the city was structured around the seat of power by using the main elements of an Islamic city. Information concerning the distribution of population within the main quarters, the locations of *Jumaa* mosque and other main elements must be obtained from the existing features of the city and old maps.

In the case of quarters, the main structuring elements of the city, apart from the above sources, the etymology of the quarters' names to some extent imply the social composition of its inhabitants. More important is that the settling of the people on the site reflected the interests of the *Khâns* so that they occupied the central area and allocated the other areas to people with regard to their social backgrounds. This was due to the structure of the semi-feudal community, where the leader (*Khân*) is a source of both continuity and change. He is

a decision-maker and a determiner of social organisation. From this point and by reference to the Russian map (1851 printed in Mehriar et al. 1998), it can be seen that the social structure of the city was conceived based on four parts in order to convey the function of the city in that period. This means building a physical structure which comprised a core in the middle, as the seat of power and nobles with the dominant features of the *Qalâ* (named *Miyân-Qalâ*, which means the citadel in between), a quarter for servants adjacent to the nobles in the north (called *Jawr-âwâ*, meaning the place developed by toilers/workers), the site of merchants with the dominant feature of the bazaar at the bottom of the *Qalâ*'s hill in the east (named the quarter of the Bazaar or *Âqâ-Zamân*), the quarter of transport organisers situated on the other side of the river to the south (with the name *Qatâr-chyân*, the people that used mules to transfer goods) (figure 4.6). This structure is similar to that conceived by Kostof (1992: 73):

The hilltop is where a town usually begins, with a princely citadel, a cathedral [or Mosque], a basic nucleus of feudal authority. Down in the valley is a civil core of craftspeople and traders.

From the above quotation, the only exception is in the location of the *Jumaa* Mosque (Friday mosque) as the main element of an Islamic city. In the historical records, there is no evidence about the location of the mosque or even its name until 1724, when the city was captured during an Ottoman invasion. This raised a question debated by the historically informed interviewees. As Bahrami (an expert in cultural heritage organisation) and Marufi (a retired official and local historian) explained, there are only two mosques which trace their building back to the period of the *Safavid* Empire: one in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* called the *Ghula* mosque and the other close to the bazaar known as the *Mola Ahmad Geâmati* mosque (figure 4.6). Both recognised the first as older than the second but identified the mosque of Mola Ahmad Geamati as the first *Jumaa* mosque of *Sanandaj*.

The author first focused on the Grave of *Peer Omar*, as it contained an additional building called the mosque of Peer Omar, adjacent to the seat of power. But by comparing the structure of the city with other Islamic cities, it was recognised that the view of the interviewees is a logical one as the *Jumaa* mosque is usually in direct relationship with the bazaar and accessible to the populace. The only doubt is the area of the mosque which to some extent is not reliable for a *Jumaa* mosque of a capital city.

The other important element of the city structure is the City’s walls. In this regard, apart from Vasilyeva (2000) other historical records did not mention the city’s walls in the first period of foundation or later⁸. However some signs of the first wall are still apparent in the City

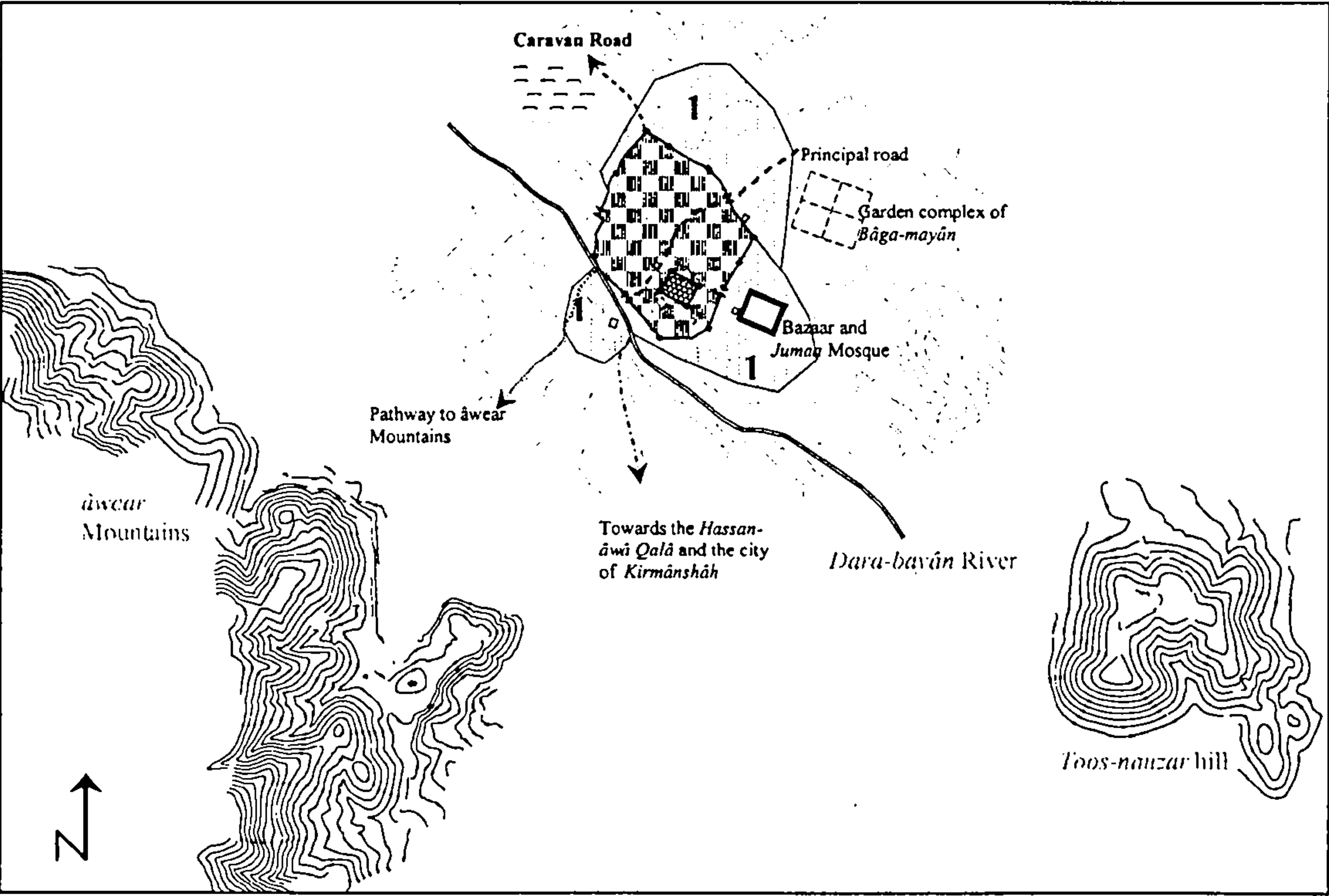



Figure 4. 6. The form of the city in its first period of formation

 The fortified quarter of the Khans/ruling class related to the *Qalâ* on the top of the hill in the southern corner of the quarter, 1) Other quarters

Vasilyeva (2000: 5) indicates that, *Sulaymân-Khân Ardalân* started an impressive set of works including the City’s walls. The imperative of this element for a city such as *Sanandaj* is clear. The city was built “as a politico-administrative centre of *Ardalân* principality” and its founders had experienced the structure of mound-cities. More important is the location of the *Ardalân*’s territory on the frontier between two competing empires which certainly encouraged the *Wâli* to extend the defensive features of his capital. Note that, in addition to the foundation of *Sanandaj* with two defensive walls, the city of *Kirmânshâh*, situated 80 km south of *Sanandaj*, was fortified by *Safavid* Sovereigns against the menace of the Ottoman Empire (Lockhart, 1939).

⁸ This was discussed with interviewees. They only realised the existence of those walls when they had access to information on the Russian map of the City of 1850, especially the second wall.

We can conclude that the main structure of the City, comprising four main quarters with the two prominent features of the bazaar complex and the *Qalâ*, was formed in the first decade of its foundation. And, that it has been continuously extended and renovated by other *Wâlis* succeeding *Sulaymân-khân Ardalân*, until the end of *Bâni Ardalân* as the ruler of Kurdistan in 1867. For that reason Vasilyeva (2000: 4) points out:

In a short period of time an impressive set of building works was started and successfully accomplished: a castellated palace, mosques, *Madrassas*, bazaars, bridges, baths, city walls, garden ensemble of *Baga-mayân* and a range of subterranean canals (*Qanât*) from the outside sources.

The importance of such building works in that period was such that, ‘Jean Baptist Tavernier, presumably the first European who visited *Sanandaj* in the time of *Sulaymân-Khân*, described his impressions’ in the following enthusiastic words:

“La mansion ou il demeure, est une des plus belles de perse” (Vasilyeva 2000: 4). [The house where he (the *Wâli* of *Ardalân*) lives is one of the most beautiful one in Persia].

From the above evidence, the city of *Sanandaj* should not be considered as an organic city. Rather it is more a semi-planned city in which the location and structure of its main parts were first conceived by the founders and then the details of each part, especially the manner of building and aggregation across the quarters, was left to conventions among neighbours due to the self-governing structure of each quarter.

The perceived structure of the city endured until the end of the *Ardalân* family’s rule in 1867. There were many changes in the destiny of the city which we will explore in the following section.

4.4. After the first period of city foundation (1656-1824)

This period comprises the major part of city’s evolution which can be broken down into a number of sub-periods as follows.

4.4.1. The period from 1656 to 1735

After the first period, especially after *Wâli Sulaymân-Khân*, the *Safavid* government again tried to minimize the power of the *Ardalân* family in the region. Thus, just after the death of *Sulaymân-Khân*, the territory of *Ardalân* was divided into six parts and only three parts allocated to the *Ardalân* family. Apart from the political dimension of this decision for the *Ardalân* family, it affected the process of city development because to some degree the

politico-administrative arena of the city was limited to a small area. Due to the lack of information in historical records concerning this political action, it is difficult to offer a proper explanation about its effects on the socio-physical features of the city. What can be noted is that the contents of historical records (Sanandaji 1996; Babani 1998; Mardukh 2000; Kurdistan 2002) did not reveal any trace of major building works from the time of this action in 1656 until 1701. This means that, the city experienced a noticeable stagnation in building activities for nearly half a century.

After the above period, in line with the *Safavid* policy of further Iranicising the people of Kurdistan, the government of Kurdistan was allotted to *Wâlis* (four *Wâlis*) outside the *Ardalân* family for nine years. In order to justify this political action, the *Safavid Shâh* (*Shâh Sultan Hosein* 1694-1722) ordered the new *Wâli* to do building works for the benefit of the people. Hence, when the new *Wâli* not of the *Ardalân* family came to power in 1701, he built a number of mosques and a caravansary. As Sharafkandi (2002) indicates, the caravansary was built close to the old Bazaar of *Sanandaj* with two stories containing sixty chambers for commercial activities. More important is that 'the caravansary was endowed to the shrines of *Karbalâ* and *Najaf* in Iraq' instead of to the mosques and shrines of the city. This is mainly from Shiite beliefs, which recognise the Imams as the direct corporeal and spiritual successors of Prophet Muhammad. Based on this point, they are infallible and divinely inspired, thus, their graves must be given particular attention for pilgrims.

The continuation of the above policy, especially the opposition to the ideology of the Sunni people of Kurdistan⁹, led to the people driving the *Wâli* out of the city to the court of *Safavids*¹⁰. This action convinced the *Safavid* court that foreign *Wâlis* could no longer have the government of Kurdistan. For this reason, they again turned to the *Ardalân* family to continue their government in Kurdistan.

Although, the government was transferred to the *Ardalân* family again, historical records do not mention any important building works until 1720, when the city was conquered by the invading Ottomans as the *Safavid* Empire collapsed. This was the last period of the *Safavid* state. As a local historian indicated, the *Wâlis* of *Ardalân* were mostly engaged in wars

⁹ As Kurdistan (2000: 101) and Mardukh (2002: 339) indicated, when the second *Wâli*, not of the *Ardalân* family, came to power and he realised that the shrine close to the seat of power was the shrine of Peer Omar he ordered its destruction because its name recalled the name of the second Sunni caliph.

¹⁰ For more information, the reader is referred to the Sharafkandi (2002: 109)

against internal and external invaders, especially the Afghan invasion of eastern Iran. This meant that they did not devote any energy to building activities and the city was no longer a secure place for its hinterland. This certainly influenced the City's development in that period.

The invasion of Afghans created a short stagnation in building activities in the city and at the same time a new challenge confronted the *Ardalân* family: the *Bâbân* family under the power of the Ottomans who had settled in the city of *Sulaymania*. The Afghan invasion and the fall of the *Safavid* dynasty was a major opportunity for the Ottomans to induce the leaders of *Bâbân* to seize the *Ardalân* capital.

The city of *Sanandaj* was conquered by *Khan-e-Pâshâ Bâbân* in 1720, giving an opportunity to the *Bâbân* family to make their imprint on the City's image. This took the form of a new mosque with two tall minarets and the complementary element of *Madrassa* (school), built with money supplied by the Ottoman Sultan. Although, no historical records referred to this as the *Jumaa* mosque, from an Ottoman policy perspective (in opposition to *Safavid* ideology and as a representative of the Sunni tradition) and what Mardukh (1972, quoted in Sharafkandi 2002: 124) claims; "in the minaret of this mosque the *Azân/Bâng* (call to prayer) was performed", it can be seen that the mosque was a replacement for the city's *Jumaa* mosque. More important is the location of this mosque. It was erected on the slope of the *Qalâ* hill just adjacent to the fortified wall of the *Qalâ* facing toward the bazaar, the site of *Asnâf* (guilds) and merchants (figure 4.8).

Apart from the political challenge of the Ottoman Empire against the *Safavids*, the erection of this mosque, especially in the view from the *Qalâ* looking towards the east (*Qalâ* as the main place of *Ardalân* power, and east as a predominant direction of the city), can be conceived as a monument to the *Bâbân* prevalence over the *Ardalân* family due to their long military and political competition. After recovering the city, the *Ardalân* leaders had to look at the mosque and *Madrassé* each day for more than a century. The reign of the *Bâbân* lasted for ten years until *Nâder-Shâh* appointed *Subhân Werdi-khân* (another leader of *Ardalân*) in 1730. As Mardukh (1972, quoted in Sharafkandi 2002) indicates, the people of *Sanandaj* were more interested in Iran, for this reason they asked *Nâder-Shâh* to come to the city and take power. This is an important issue which links the destiny and identity of the Kurdish people with the land of Iran. Although, the religious background of *Bâbân* family was in

accordance with what the people of *Sanandaj* believed in and the leader of *Bâbân* tried to complete building works for the benefit of the people and to behave well towards them, nonetheless the people's desires were for their own leader and attachment to the land of Iran. This can be interpreted as the dominance of nationality over their Sunni religion.

Apart from the political conflicts of the *Ardalân* and *Bâbân* families in the regions of Kurdistan (Iran and Iraq) which led to many challenges in the context of history, they also had sometimes supported each other, especially in relation to difficulties with their central governments. For instance, in the period of *Nâder-Shâh* (1736-47), *Khân Ahmad-Khân* the third from the *Ardalân* family took refuge in the territory of *Bâbân*. At different times between 1749 and 1841 members of the *Bâbân* family lived in the city of *Sanandaj*, especially in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*, the quarter selected as the case study in this research.

There were differences in attitude between the above families' in their approaches to their capitals (Vasilyeva, 2000:6). Because the city of *Sanandaj* was the symbol of *Ardalân* power, they made great efforts to renovate and decorate the city over the course of time. The *Bâbân* leaders, in contrast, spent their efforts on portable things because 'they were less interested to underline their social primacy for their power rested on the tribal community'. This can be noted in the words of Rich (1836: 214, 215), who entered the city in 1820:

One of the *Khâns* observed, when I praised some of the buildings, that they spent all their money about their houses, but that the *Bebbehs* (*Bâbâns*) invested their property in money and transportable effects, that they might be ready to fly at a moment's warning, in case of trouble or the deposition of their chief.

For this reason "the city of *Sulaymânia*, the capital of *Bâbâns*, was more decent than *Sanandaj*", it was the city of *Sanandaj* which possessed regal splendour – "une allure royale" – as "its constructions contributed to the splendour of prince's power" (Nikitine quoted in Vasilyeva 2000: 6).

4.4.2. The period from 1735 to 1789

After the reign of *Nâder-Shâh*, especially with the rise of the *Zand* dynasty (1747-1794), the city of *Sanandaj* experienced great problems from war and its devastation. In the first years of the *Zand* dynasty, clashes took place between the heads of this dynasty and the *Wâli* of *Ardalân*, *Hassan Ali-Khân*, (Perry 1968: 67). The defeat of the *Zand* army by the *Ardalâns*,

created a desire for revenge on the *Ardalân* family in the mind of *Karim-Khân Zand*. Thus, when he took the City in 1750 “his army sacked and burned” most of the city. As Sharafkandi (2002) indicates, in this event, *Karim-Khân Zand* settled in the *Sanandaj’s Jumaa* Mosque. And from there, he ordered his troops to burn the city.

In the context of previous discussion of the location and name of *Jumaa* mosque, this is the first time that the name *Jumaa* mosque appears in literature. But the main ambiguity is still in its location in the structure of the city. As explained, the evidence indicates that the *Bâbân’s* mosque was the second *Jumaa* mosque of the city close to the seat of power.

More important is that there is no evidence to explain the reasons behind the action of *Karim-Khân Zand* in settling in the *Jumaa* mosque instead of the *Qalâ*. Two possible explanations can be put forward: one is the status of the *Jumaa* mosque among other elements of an Islamic city which might have induced him to use it as the seat of power. This, to some extent, recalls the first period of the Islamic Empire, when the Friday mosque acted as a place of Islamic power. The second explanation relates to the conflict between *Karim-Khân Zand* and the *Ardalân* family. According to this view, he settled in the *Jumaa* mosque created by the *Bâbân* family in order to destroy most of the *Ardalân’s* constructions, especially their seat of power the *Qalâ*.

After this event, which led to the destruction of the city and the people moving elsewhere, another *Wâli* of the *Ardalân* family took power in 1757 and tried to reconstruct the city. Similar to other periods, there are no clear explanations in the historical records about the circumstances of the City’s reconstruction. Based on the local chronicles, when *Khusraw-Khân II* was appointed as the *Wâli* of Kurdistan, the people returned to the city and the *Wâli* started an impressive programme of building. He first changed his seat to the *Hasan-âwâ Qalâ* in order to reconstruct *Sanandaj’s Qalâ*. In reconstructing the *Qalâ*, he built a new hall (*Bâlahâna*) in an eastward direction named *Khusrawiea* (Mardukh, 2000: 358). He also built or reconstructed the new *Chahâr-bâq* (four gardens) named *Bâqa-mayân* northeast of the city “using the specialist engineers”, which later became the Quarter of *Chahâr-Bâq*. As discussed, the idea of this *Bâq* had been conceived and to some extent implemented by *Khân Ahmad-Khân* before the foundation of *Sanandaj* in 1616-37 (figure 4.6). As the idea and construction of this garden stemmed from the *Chahâr-Bâq* plan of other Iranian cities, such as *Shirâz* and *Isfahân*, and it was created by engineers, it was well created. Masturah-Khanum (quoted in Sharafkandi 2002: 168) describes it in the following words:

When I was child [approximately at the end of 18th century], I usually went to this garden for the sake of recreation. It was really a well defined garden not anything else. The streams across the trees recalled us the sense of heaven which made it unique in the world.

The creation of this garden is an important event in the city's structure which implies a particular idea of the time, that later became a basis for the City's development in a rectangular form following the existing quarter of *Chahâr-Bâq* (figure 4.7).



Figure 4. 7. Rectangular pattern of streets in the *Chahâr-Bâq* quarter

Source: *Sâzmân-e Naghshebardâry Kishvar* 1957

4.4.3. The period from 1789 to 1824

The reign of *Khusrau-Khân* lasted until 1789, which coincided with the rise of the *Qajâr* dynasty (1794-1925). Following the brief rules of his two successors, the reign passed to *Amanullâh-Khân* the Great, the son of *Kusrau-Khân*, in 1799/1214. His long tenure of office was a remarkable period in the *Ardalân* family's history, and the period of royal splendour in the City. Although, this period was known to historians as an important one, with close collaboration with the central government which ultimately led to the fall of the state-like status of the *Ardalân* emirate (Hamply 1968; McDowall 2001), from the point of city development it must be recognised as the period of impressive building works which led to an image of the City as a place of royal splendour in the perception of foreign travellers. As Mardukh (2000) explains, *Amanullâh-Khân* invested great effort in the development of the *Ardalân* emirate. For example, he built new elements in the seat of power (the interior mansion of *Qalâ*, the court of *Gulestân*, the hall of *Delgushâ*, and a square in front of the *Qalâ*), in the surrounding areas (the site of *Kâni-Shafâ* on the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains), and even in some rural areas. As this author stresses and other local historians emphasise, the most important mansions of the city are traced back to the period of *Amanullâh-Khân*. In

the case of the City's structure, he also undertook important works relating to the site of the *Jumaa* mosque and a new *Chahâr-Bâq* south-west of the city, on the opposite side from the first *Chahâr-Bâq* (figure 4.8).

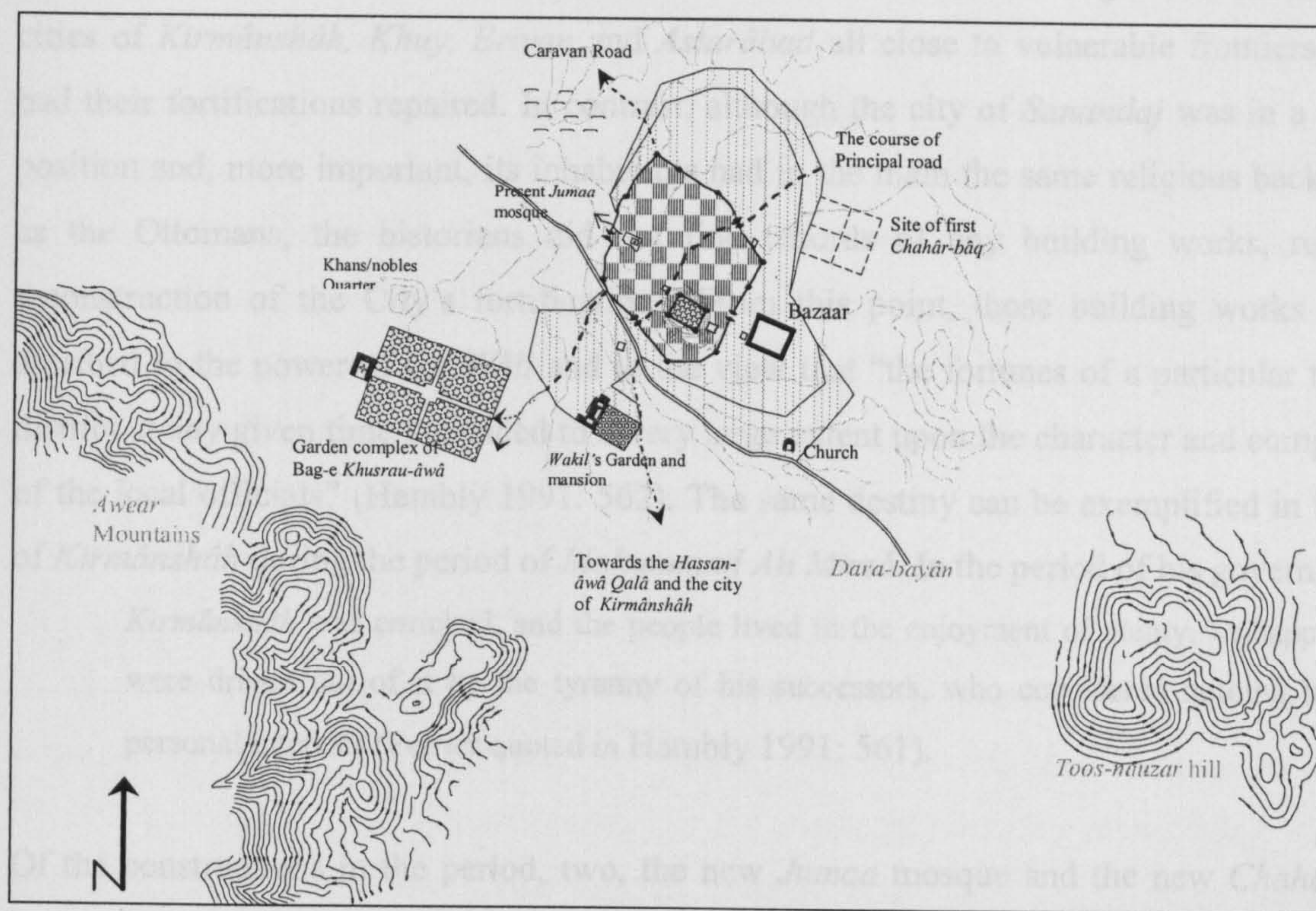

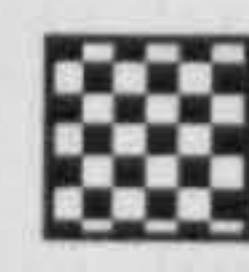
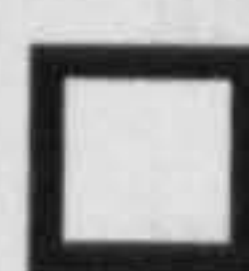


Figure 4. 8. The second phase of city development in the first period of the 19th century

Formation of the second garden complex (*Bâq-e Khusrau-âwâ*) and the existing *Jumaa* mosque

-  The *Qalâ*/citadel and site of the second *Jumaa* mosque (*Bâbân*'s mosque) of the city on its east side overlooking the bazaar
-  The Fortified quarter of Khans/ruling class with two main elements of existing *Jumaa* mosque and the *Qalâ*/citadel
-  The bazaar complex adjacent to the first *Jumaa* mosque of the city; *Mullâ Ahmad-e Qeâmati*

Generally speaking, an image of the city as a whole in that period can be recognised from the words of Rich (1836: 144) and Kinneir (1813: 199):

Secluded in the bosom of a deep valley, well-cultivated and interspersed with orchards of peach, apricot, pear, apple, and cherry-trees, *Senna/Sanandaj* is, at once, a most romantic and flourishing little town.

Sinna/Sanandaj wore a much more imposing appearance than I expected, with its castellated place on the height, and some good-looking buildings round the foot of it.

Although some may relate the above impressive building works to the policy of the *Qajâr* dynasty (1794-1925) in the restoration and revival of cities located closest to the frontiers, as

Hambly (1991: 551) states, “the most conspicuous evidence of such activities was the repair or reconstruction of town walls and gateways” due to the attacks of invaders from the Ottoman and Russian frontiers, not just new constructions. In this regard, he mentions the cities of *Kirmânshâh*, *Khuy*, *Erivan* and *Astarâbad* all close to vulnerable frontiers, which had their fortifications repaired. In contrast, although the city of *Sanandaj* was in a frontier position and, more important, its inhabitants had in the main the same religious background as the Ottomans, the historians did not find records of any building works, repair or reconstruction of the City’s fortifications. From this point, those building works can be ascribed to the power of the *Wâli* and to the view that “the fortunes of a particular town or district at any given time depended to a very large extent upon the character and competence of the local officials” (Hambly 1991: 562). The same destiny can be exemplified in the city of *Kirmânshâh* during the period of *Mohammad Ali Mirzâ*. In the period of his government,

Kirmânshâh was enriched, and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty. Unhappily they were driven out of it by the tyranny of his successors, who considered nothing but their personal interests (Ferrier quoted in Hambly 1991: 561).

Of the constructions in the period, two, the new *Jumaa* mosque and the new *Chahâr-bâq*, have acquired a special character and identity in the City’s history. From the contents of local chronicles we can identify two important reasons for the building of a new mosque in that period. One is in relation to political purposes in creating a shift in the structure of the city against the monument of Ottoman Empire (the mosque of *Bâbâns*). As Mardukh (2000) and other local historians explain, “the existence of the physical imprint of *Bâbâns* was unbearable for the *Wâli*, as it was erected in the direction of the *Qalâ*’s view towards east (figure 4.8), because he could not view the monument of his rival. For this reason, he first destroyed and replaced it with a garden named *Bâq-e Ferdusi*” (Mardukh 2000: 344). And then, he erected a new one close to the west gate of the city. The second reason was still opposed to the policy of the Ottomans but with religious purposes. The *Wâli* of *Ardalân* aimed to build a new large mosque comprising both the functions of prayer and education, especially education, which could act as a main centre of *Ulamâ* (religious authorities) in Kurdistan.

In connection with the second reason above, Ahmadi¹¹ and Bahrami¹² suggested that “the purpose of the *Wâli* was to create a centre for *Ulamâ* in the region which could comprise all the processes of learning of that period”. As they explain, before this centre, most students of the *Shâfi'ite* Sunni tradition had to complete their study (especially the final stages) in the Iraqi region under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, building a new centre of teaching overcame that gap in the education provision of the City and the entire region. To some extent, it attracted many *Ulamâ* and students from other parts of Iran and the Iraqi region, which resulted in a city of splendour in both formal and intellectual dimensions. For this reason, in the period of *Amanullâh-Khân*, the city of *Sanandaj* was known as “*Darull-Elm*” (the house of learning) or “*Darull-Adab*” (the house of training), which made it unique in the west of Iran (Kurdistani 2002).

Although, the act of the *Wâli*, in changing the location of the *Jumaa* mosque, led to development and a city well known in the region, it further isolated the public space of the Friday mosque from the other foci (the bazaar complex as an integrating centre of self-reliance the city quarters) by maintaining it in the quarter of the ruling class (figure 4.8). This means the separation of the *Jumaa* mosque from the public and defining it as being in the realm of nobles. Keeping this fact in mind and considering the previous status and locations of the *Jumaa* mosque, it can be claimed that the life of the *Jumaa* mosque defines the life of the city.

The [Friday] mosque is the city, or rather the focus of the city, and its physical ambiguity represents a definite spiritual fact and purpose. It records the city's life and growth and comprises many secular and all its spiritual functions. (Pope 1967 quoted in Kheirabadi 1991: 65)

In the case of the new element of the *Chahâr-bâq*, the historical records do not reveal any particular socio-political reasons for its creation. For example, in the words of Mardukh (2000) it was built in honour of the *Wâli*'s son, *Khusrau-khân* the Second. And Rich (1836: 200), who visited the garden in the period of the *Wâli*, recorded that

The garden was planted by *Amanullâh-Khân*, the present *Wâli*, about fourteen years ago, and was named by him *Khusrooâbâd*, in honour of his father, *Kuosrau-Khân*, the late *Wâli*.

¹¹ Interviewed 29.07.2003

¹² Interviewed 28.07.2003

Presumably, the words of Rich are to be seen as the right answer to the creation of this garden. As explained, *Khusrau-Khân*, the father of *Amanullâh-Khân*, created or reconstructed the first *Chahâr-Bâq* in the northeast of the city. Based on the view of *Mastura-Khânûm*, who lived in the period of *Amanullâh-Khân* as the wife of his son, this *Bâq* had lost its status as a royal garden. Consequently, the *Wâli* tried to revive the vision of his father in the form of a new *Bâq* in a new location for two purposes: first reviving the memories of his father concerning the first *Chahâr-bâq*, and second putting his imprint on the city structure in order to lend visual form to his power for future generations.

The last purpose can be highlighted if we consider the conflict of the *Wâli* with *Wakils'* family. As historical records indicate (Vasilyeva 2000: 7; Mardukh 2000), 'the *Wakils'* family has been continuously opposed to the ruling house and acted on the side of the *Ardalâns'* adversaries'. For this reason, they were driven out of the ruling class quarter to the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*; as they created a seat of power for their family in that quarter (figure 4.8), the creation of the *Khusrau-âwâ Bâq* can also be imagined as a physical response against this family and their sense of power in the territory of the *Ardalân*. From this point, we can rely on the view of Grabar (1984: 65) who recognised architecture as an "expression of power".

Apart from the political dimension of the above creation, it can be justified by its function as a summer house of the *Wâli* on the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains. This is an explicit purpose that can be identified for the *Khusrau-âwâ Bâq*, for, when Asaf¹³ (a member of a ruling class family) was interviewed about the reasons behind the two sites of power (the *Qalâ* and the mansion of *Khusrau-âwâ Bâq*), he directly referred to the function of the second site in respect to the change of season.

During the summer, as the weather of *Sanandaj*, especially the houses close to the river of *Dara-bayân*¹⁴, got warm with growing numbers of mosquitoes, it was really difficult to endure its conditions. For this reason, the *Wâli* and his relatives usually changed their site to *Khusrau-âwâ Bâq* close to the slope of *Âwear* which possessed fresh air with a cool breeze.

¹³ Interviewed 11.07.2003

¹⁴ It is the main river of the city flowing in a west-eastward direction, which divided the city into separate parts.

From the above review, the general structure of the City in that period was, with the exception of the new *Jumaa* mosque and *Chahâr Bâq*, largely as the City had been projected in first period of its foundation. As Rich (1836: 207) indicated, the city of *Sanandaj* presented the following panorama: 1) ‘the castellated palace, situated on a high mountain, which overlooked all the town by “maintaining a degree of state and splendour, superior to anything I have seen in Persia, except at court” (Kinneir, 1813: 144, 145), and was surrounded by a wall; 2) at the foot was another part of the town and another wall with battlements; 3) beyond this was more of the city which again was surrounded by a wall’. Although, Rich’s description makes the City’s main parts clear, his last point must be modified as the City only contained two fortified walls not three: one around the castellated palace, and second around the ruling family’s houses. There is evidence to support this in the map of Russian surveyors drawn in 1850 (figure 4.9), which clearly shows the lines of two fortified walls around two parts of the City while the third part is free of any man-made enclosure. Although, none of the local historians paid attention to the City’s walls, the above description was a base for Vasilyeva (2000) to recognise the main parts of the city.



Figure 4. 9.The remaining lines of the second wall of the city which serves as a *Kuché* (alley) around the quarter of Khans or ruling class

Source: *Sâzmân-e Naghshebardâry Kishvar* 1957

Apart from the physical descriptions of the City, the accounts of European travellers, which mostly date from the period of *Amanullâh-Khân*, have some estimates of the population. Kinneir (1813), who visited the city in 1813, numbered its inhabitants at about eight thousand souls. But Rich (1836), who visited the city in 1820, estimated the population of

Sanandaj as being of the order of 4-5 thousand families, “that is equal to twenty or thirty thousand people”. This shows a great change in only seven years and in the period of *Wâli Amanullâh-Khân*, the period in which the city reached the height of its splendid development. By looking to the devastating events of later periods, the estimate of Rich can be taken as reliable. As *Mastura-Khânwm* (quoted in Sharafkandi 2002: 233) indicates “the prevalence of pestilence killed more than eight or nine thousands people” in 1830. This means that the number of people who died is more than Kinneir’s (1813) estimate of the total population. The other evidence, which again is in line with Rich’s view, is the estimate of Russian surveyors in 1850, twenty years after the pestilence when they numbered the city population as about 10,240 people.

Apart from the population of the whole city, they also estimated the population of the religious minorities in the city. For Kinneir, of the eight thousand souls in the city two thousands were from minorities; and for Rich, of the 4-5 thousand families, 200 families were Jews and fifty houses belonged to Catholics. Although, the number of minorities is nearly the same in both estimates, they show a great difference with respect to the proportion of minorities in relation to the whole population. In the importance of those proportions, we can only say that the religious minorities were concentrated in the main part of the city, the quarter of Bazaar which embraced the bazaar complex, and they mostly traded with other cities in both parts of Iran and Iraq: Mosul, Baghdad, Diarbakr, Isfahân and Tehran (Rich 1836; Kinneir 1813).

4.4.4. The fall of the splendid Ardalân city

The following period of *Wâli Amanullâh-Khân* (1799-1824) witnessed the gradual decline of the *Ardalân* governorship in the region. It also led to the decline of the splendid image of the city. This means that “as the symbol of *Ardalâns*’ power *Sanandaj* followed all the curves of their political fate” including the continuous efforts of this family in rebuilding and decorating its constructions (Vasilyeva 2000: 5).

As explained, the state-like status of the *Ardalân* emirate diminished when the rulers of *Qajâr* dynasty continued the policy of intermarriage launched by *Shâh Abbâs* the Great. This happened when *Fath Ali Shâh*’s daughter (1797-1834) married the *Wâli*’s son, *Khusrau-khân* the Third, in 1819. This event led to a change in the custom of transferring power, as the younger son, *Khusrau-khân* the Third, was appointed to be the successor of *Wâli Amanullâh-*

Khân instead of the elder son. From this time onwards, as Lambton (1968: 467) points out, “the province of *Ardalân* was brought under a greater degree of control by the central government”. It means that the *Ardalân* emirate reduced its state-like status. This trend gradually resulted in a weaker role for the *Ardalân* family in the region, and even in the City’s development. This, together with the devastating prevalence of pestilence, which in 1830 caused the death of more than nine thousand people, significantly impaired their ability to manage the City effectively based on their wishes and what their ancestors had done. Its impact was such that the review of historical records (Sanandaji 1996; Babani 1998; Mardukh 2000; Kurdistanî 2002) showed no trace of building works in that period until 1845, when the last *Wâli* of the *Ardalân* family (*Amanullâh-Khân* the second) came to power by the order of *Naser o-Din Shâh*, (1848-1896).

The period of the last *Wâli* contained a particular socio-political event with the building of a new mosque, called the *Wâli* mosque, close to the site of the Bazaar on the slopes of the *Qalâ*’s hill in a low-lying area of the site of the second *Jumaa* mosque (*Bâbâns*’s mosque). As Mardukh (2000: 405) explains, this mosque was created by *Wâli Amanullâh-Khân* the Second in honour of *Merzâ Karim-khân-e Hammadâni*, the founder of the *Sheikite* religious school which was aligned with Shiite ideology. Due to the social upheaval against this act of the *Wâli*, mostly by the people of the bazaar guided by the *Ulamâ*, he changed his mind and the mosque’s building was left unfinished. In this unrest, one of the bazaar’s caravansary was blown up by the *Wâli* in order to pacify the disturbance. This led to the event being referred to as “the War of the Caravansary”.

From the survey of the City in that period (1850) by Russian surveyors, the structure of the city is rather clear and can be summarised as follows:

1. The fortified *Qalâ* located in central area as the first part of the City
2. The quarter of the ruling class was located behind the *Qalâ* in west of the City. with fortified walls and four gates set, with slight deviation, in line with the cardinal points of the compass
3. The bazaar complex, located in the core of the City, was surrounded by the compact form of the settlements, especially the quarter of the Bazaar
4. The *Jumaa* mosque set way from the main foci of the city as it was maintained in the quarter of ruling class close to the west gate of the city

5. The other quarters made up the third part of the city lacking the walls which encircled the other main elements

The only change in the structure of the City is in relation to the new quarter named *Chahâr-bâq*, which was formed on the site of the garden complex of *Bâqa-mayân*, the first *Chahâr-bâq* of the city had been located in the northeast part of the traditional City (figure 4.10). Therefore, in the period of the last *Wâli* of *Ardalâns*, the city comprised five main quarters: one in the centre as the quarter of nobles which was surrounded by the second fortified wall and the other four quarters as the place of commoners without man-made enclosure (figure 4.10).

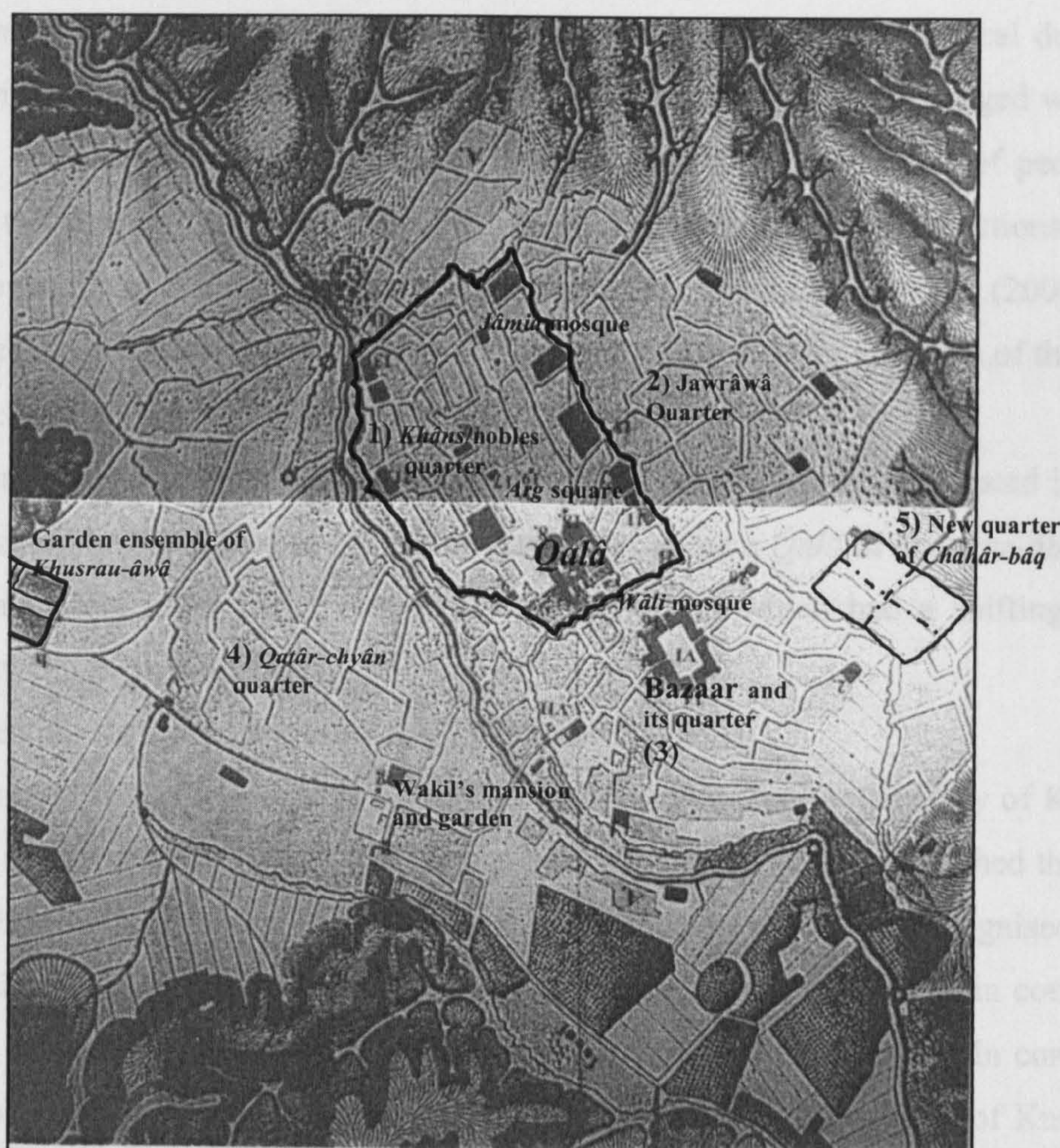


Figure 4. 10. The main structure of the city in 1850, source: Mehriar, Shamil et al. 1998

This map is the first illustrated document of the city (in 1850); it was drawn by Russians surveyors

4.4.5 The period of 1867 to 1930

The reign of *Wâli Amanullâh-Khân* the Second lasted until 1867. As Sharafkandi (2002: 278) says, when the last *Wâli* of the *Ardalân* family died in 1867 and with the lack of an agreement for transferring the power among them, the *Qajâr Shâh*, *Naser o-Din Shâh*, who had been waiting for an opportune time to break the power of *Ardalân* family, used this opportunity and appointed his uncle as the ruler of Kurdistan. This was recognised as the end of the *Ardalân*'s government over the region of Kurdistan (Ghandchi 1999), and more importantly over the city of *Sanandaj*. From this time onwards, the government of Kurdistan passed to non-local rulers.

The above can be recognised as a significant event in the history of the City that led it to enter a period of dislocation and decline in its socio-economic and physical development. The historical records show that the non-local governors were mostly engaged with military actions to settle the disturbance of tribes in the frontiers or the protests of people against them. For this reason, they spent most of their effort and money on fortifications to enhance their power in those areas and to control the people. For example, Mardukh (2000: 423-427) summarises the main activities of first governor of Kurdistan, after the reign of the *Ardalâns*, as follows:

1. Controlling the disturbances of the *Aurâmi-hâ*, one of the tribes located in a frontier position between Iran and the Ottomans, by creating a *Qalâ* in *Lashgar-âbâd* in 1872.
2. Controlling other tribes (especially the *Jâf* tribe) which had a shifting allegiance between the two empires.
3. Creating a military site (barrack) in front of the *Qalâ*.

More important is the action of *Naser o-Din Shâh* in annexing the territory of Kurdistan to the region of *Kirmânshâh* in 1874. By this action, the city of *Sanandaj* reached the end of its status as the Capital of the Kurdistan and an independent city. It was recognised as part of *Kirmânshâh*. This change affected the City's development because the main concern of the governors was usually focused on the capital city rather than other cities. In contrast to the previous periods, especially the period of *Ardalân* family¹⁵, the governor of Kurdistan was now appointed by the governor of *Kirmânshâh* not even by the central government. Note that, because of their non-local roots, they had no particular desire or motive to develop the

¹⁵ As can be seen from the main part of the earlier historical background, in the period of the *Ardalân* family, the next governor of Kurdistan was usually appointed by the present *Wâli* and the central government had only a formal role.

City and most seemed to be venal, weak, or a combination of both. They were usually changed after one or two years due to their weakness and the continuous protests of the people (mostly *Ulamâ* and the people of Bazaar) against them.

After the reign of *Ardalân* family, the city had thirty five governors during a period of just 64 years from 1867 to 1931¹⁶. This means that each governor maintained his power for less than two years, too short a time to implement important projects of city development. As stated, they could only manage to deal with the rebels in their territory. Therefore, the change of power from local to non-local governors had negative impacts on the City's prosperity. To some extent, as Mardukh (2000) and Kurdistan (2002) indicate, even the splendid *Qalâ* was destroyed during that time and most of the valuable columns of bright marble and its famous stone pool were transferred to other cities by the non-local governors.

Importantly, the local historians did not mention any particular building activities in the period mentioned. Consequently, from the above points, we can rely on the view of Hambly (1991: 562) that the well-being of the traditional Iranian city, in the period of *Qajâr* dynasty, was inextricably linked with the actions of successive governors, especially governors that had a link with the local people. In the view of Vasilyeva (2000: 9):

Sanandaj had a unique atmosphere which was created and maintained by the Kurdish habits and traditions many of those were abolished by the governors after the removal of the *Ardalâns*.

4.4. Conclusion

Through analysis of the City's historical background, this chapter has explained the City's foundation and its development over the course of time. It was found that the main reason for its building lies in the political challenge between two empires in the 17th century; one, Ottoman Empire, adhered to the Sunni tradition was located on west of the *Zâgros* Mountains, and the other, the *Safavid* Empire, seeking to extend the Shiite religion lay on the east part of the mountains. In this challenge, the good fortune lay with the eastern empire as it emphasised the ancient associations of Kurds with Persia. From this point, the city was formed, in line with the *Safavid's* policy, as a politico-administrative centre and bulwark against the *Safavid's* rival, by moving the Kurdish people down from mound-cities to the

¹⁶ In contrast to the reign of the *Ardalâns* which lasted for 230 years with 38 *Wâlis*; with each *Wâli* governing the region for six years on average.

relatively flat areas. By doing this, the *Safavid* Empire took a major step in Iranicising the Kurdish people and breaking down their semi-independent structure on the Perso-Turkish frontier.

It was also found that the City's destiny was completely bound up with the power of the *Ardalân* family as the rulers of Kurdistan. To some extent, it acted as the symbol of this family, following all the changes in their political fate. Although, in some periods, the local historians did not find any traces of building works, it is clear that the city was rebuilt and renewed many times by the efforts of the *Ardalân* family.

The other main point of this chapter was in clarifying the growth of *Sanandaj* through time, especially by reference to the significant building works which took place at particular periods of time. In line with this the structure of the city with its main elements was characterised. These findings will be a useful base in recognising the roots of urban form elements, for following studies in analysing the structuring elements of the City and further research concerning the City's conservation plan.

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5.1. Introduction

After discussing the historical background of the city and making clear the factors which motivated the foundation and development of the City over the course of time, next, the City's built form, within its macro and micro geographical settings, is examined to discover the nature of the interaction between both environments (man-made and natural) and to identify the features of the City which responded to the character of the natural landscape. These points then will lead the research to examine urban elements based mainly on the work of Kostof (1992) to understand the City's structuring elements. These two main sections act as a contextual morphological analysis which makes clear the general socio-spatial rules underlying the city's morphological components preceding the case study.

5.2. Regional structure

The secret of form lies in the fact that it is boundary; it is the thing itself and at the same time the cessation of the thing, the circumscribed territory in which the Being and the No-longer-being of the thing are one and the same (G. Simmel, 1980 quoted in Leatherbarrow 1993).

From 'the concept of place which implies an inside and an outside character, as integral parts of existence, it is clear that the city in itself is meaningless to be imagined without the scale of its regional space within which it was given more of its character' (Norberg-Schulz 1971: 20). It means that 'the natural elements are the primary components of the given, and the city, the positive shape of space, is defined in its geographical terms' (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 10).

In defining the regional space of the city, we can look at the view of Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973: 13) who conceptualise the mountain ranges of Iran (*Alburz* and *Zâgros*) as "walls which define a regional space within which the positive shape of the city evolves". This is "a macro-structuring of landscape by the chains" of the *Zâgros* and *Alburz* mountains as the two most extensive ones in area with those of the south and east being smaller (Fisher 1968; Kite 2002). This physical form of the region can be imagined as a great bowl shape (figure 5.1) with a high outer rim surrounding its main regional space, where "human settlements are primarily situated on the aprons of majestic mountain ranges as centripetal nodes that often relate centrifugally to a geographic space of vast dimensions" (Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973: 13). This also shows the mountains as a source of water (water which is usually transferred

to the settlements, mainly in the arid zone, through *Qanâts*, subterranean canals¹ leading from the slopes of mountains); also a place of security seem to have had more influence than usual on the distribution of human settlements and related activities. Thus, mountains can be viewed as places which “make the structure of being manifest” (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 25).

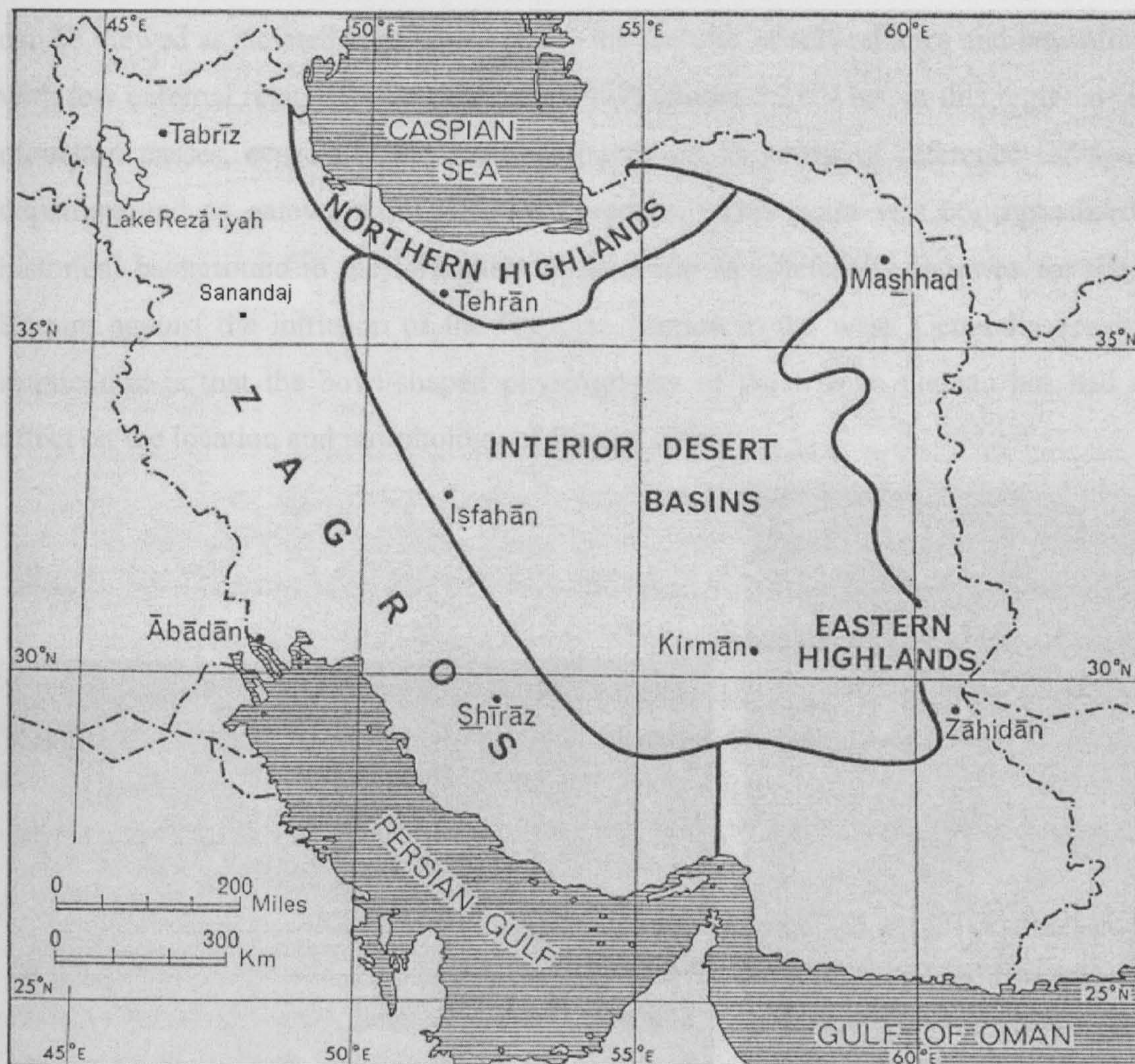


Figure 5. 1. Iran's physiographical units

Source: Fisher 1968:7

The last point above is an accurate perception when we turn our view from Iran, as a major geographical context, to it as the birth place of Kurdish people, ‘where mountains, especially the *Zâgros*², are predominantly the single most important natural phenomenon which have

¹ The signs of canals are like “pot holes left from initial excavations and the subsequent repairs” (Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973: 13)

² In respect to the importance of the *Zâgros* Mountains it should be noted that it is one of the most striking features on the landscape of the Near East as one of the great natural boundaries between the lowlands of Mesopotamia to the west and the Iranian plateau to the east (Levine 1974).

shaped the Kurdish history, people, tradition', and culture to such an extent that Kurdish domains end abruptly where the plains begin (Izady 1992: 13).

Within geographical settings, human settlements, especially within the *Zâgros* mountains, can be viewed as isolated ones which imply the features of self-reliance and outward-looking with few external relations (Grandmaison 1977) (figure 5.2). Also, in this regional view, the mountain passes, especially the positive spaces act as points of reference for arrival and departure and as gateways for defence purposes. This point was conceptualised in the historical background to the formation of *Sanandaj* as a defensive gateway for the Persian Empire against the intrusion of the Ottoman Empire in the west. Generally speaking, the implication is that the bowl-shaped physiography of the Iranian plateau has had a major effect on the location and morphology of Iranian cities.

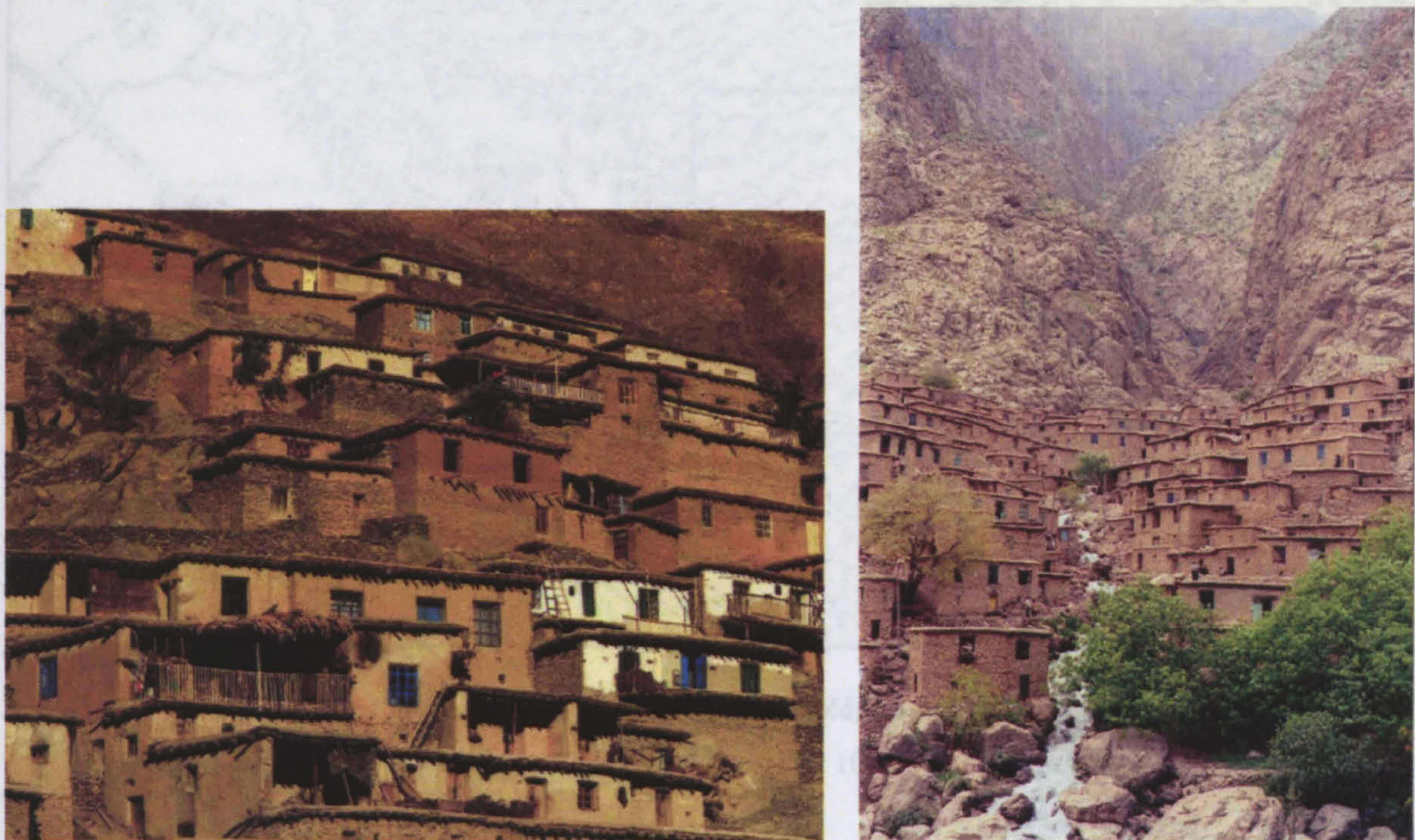


Figure 5. 2. Typical settlements in the *Zâgros* Mountains

Source: *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

5.2.1. The structure of the natural landscape

If we turn our gaze from the macro-scale and the structure of the physical form of land in Iran as a whole, to the specific geo-physical context of this study, we can more strongly draw the same form of geophysical setting which surrounds the positive shape of the city. It is the intermountain setting of the *Zâgros*, where the *Zâgros* folds abut the resistant blocks that form the plain of *Hamadân* (figure 5.3). For a better understanding of this setting, we can

divide it into two regional settings. The first comprises a relatively large bowl shape which contains many hills of different sizes and positive spaces with a river (*Cham-e Gheshlagh*) flowing in a north-south direction which defines the course of arrival and departure for the north-west and the south-west of the region. This geo-physical rim can be imagined as two strong curved walls, the western formed by the *Âwear Mountains* and the eastern by the heights of *Salawât-âwâ*, cut by a corridor, the Main River, which directs the routes and flow of water (figure 5.4). In this view, as well as the city of *Sanandaj*, there are a number of villages set alongside the course of the river, the main regional corridor.



Figure 5. 3. The city's location in *Zâgros Mountains*

Source: Levine 1974: 101

In the second setting, the scale of the setting changes to smaller dimensions as we come closer to the City's site. In this sense, the western rim - the *Âwear Mountains* - of the first setting is still the major natural edge which completely limits the face of City's site to this side. The only interruption is a narrow valley (*Doule Haft-âsiaw*) which divides the two *Âwears*, *Bouchek* (small) and *Gawrah* (big) (figure 5.6), along which seven mills operated to supply the city and its surroundings. The eastern edge is defined by another two ranges of hills, lower than those in the first setting, separated by a river (*Dara-bayân*) leading from the slopes of *Âwear Mountains* to the main river of the first setting (figure 5.4). These heights can be imagined as natural defensive walls which separate the city from the regional corridor

of the first setting. While the city was maintained behind these heights, two passes in gorge areas overlooking the main corridor served for arriving and departing. The sense of these boundaries is such that a stranger (visitor or traveller) cannot see the city at first and even second approach from the corridor. For, beside these heights, there are other small hills which limit views of the City even when one is at the summit of the two passes from the corridor. Although, the city was set back from the main corridor of the regional space, at first level of realisation by another boundary, the order of place is such that it maintained another corridor along the *Dara-bayân* River (figure 5.4) to make a connection and a longitudinal axis for humans to come and to live together in its neighbourhood.

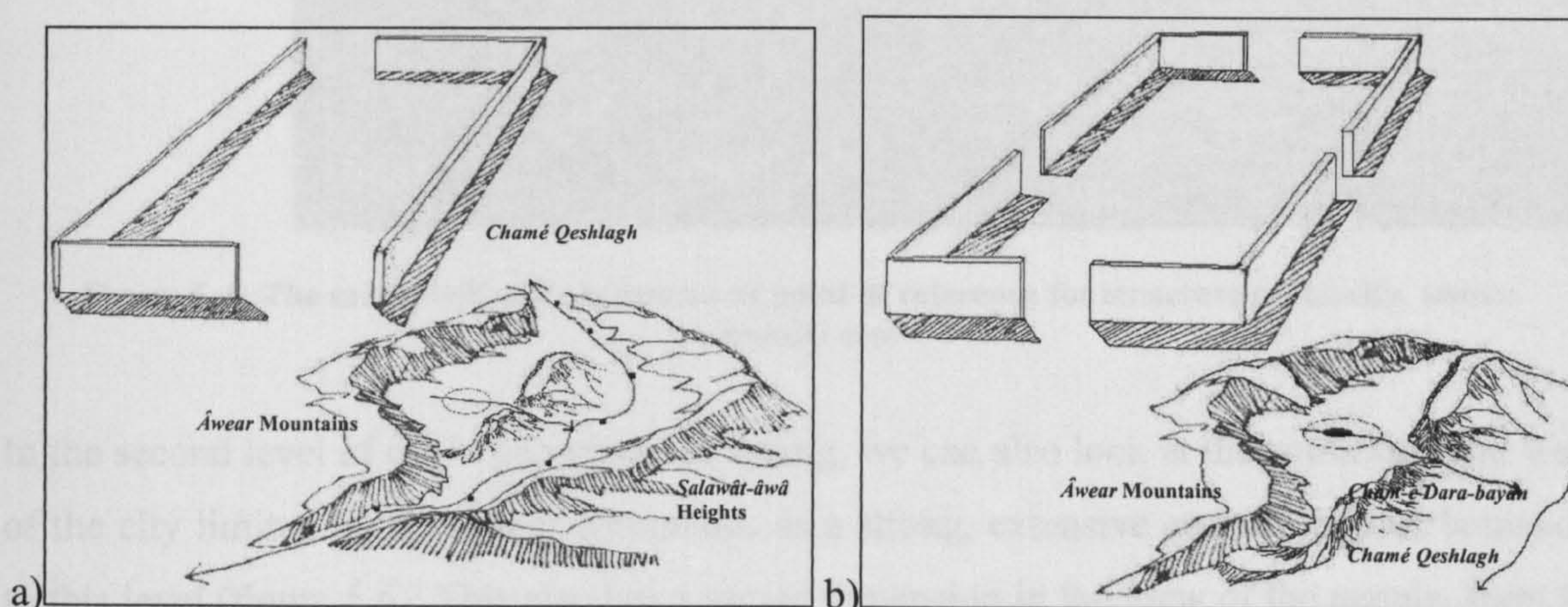


Figure 5. 4. The first and second of the City's geophysical setting shapes

The concept of these boundaries was derived from Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973

Despite the natural fortification aspect of the heights mentioned in the city's second geophysical setting, the eastern edge also contained a sacred dimension with *Toos-nawzar*, one of the hills in this boundary, as a symbol of power (figure 5.5). It reflects the distinct act of man³ because people revere it as a heroic site in the past life of the city. Considering this point, we can claim that the founders of the city were aware of this sacred place when the city took refuge behind it for more security. More importantly, the orientation of the *Qalâ* (citadel) is in the direction of this hill, thus, symbolising it as a point of reference for the structure of the city. This recalls the notion of Norberg-schulz (1980: 5) that "man dwells when he can orientate himself within and identify himself with an environment".

³ *Toos-nawzar* is the name of a famous champion in the period of Sâssânian, who settled in this place for a while and took it as his hunting ground.

The main corridor of the region and the eastern rim of the first realisation are clear behind the hill

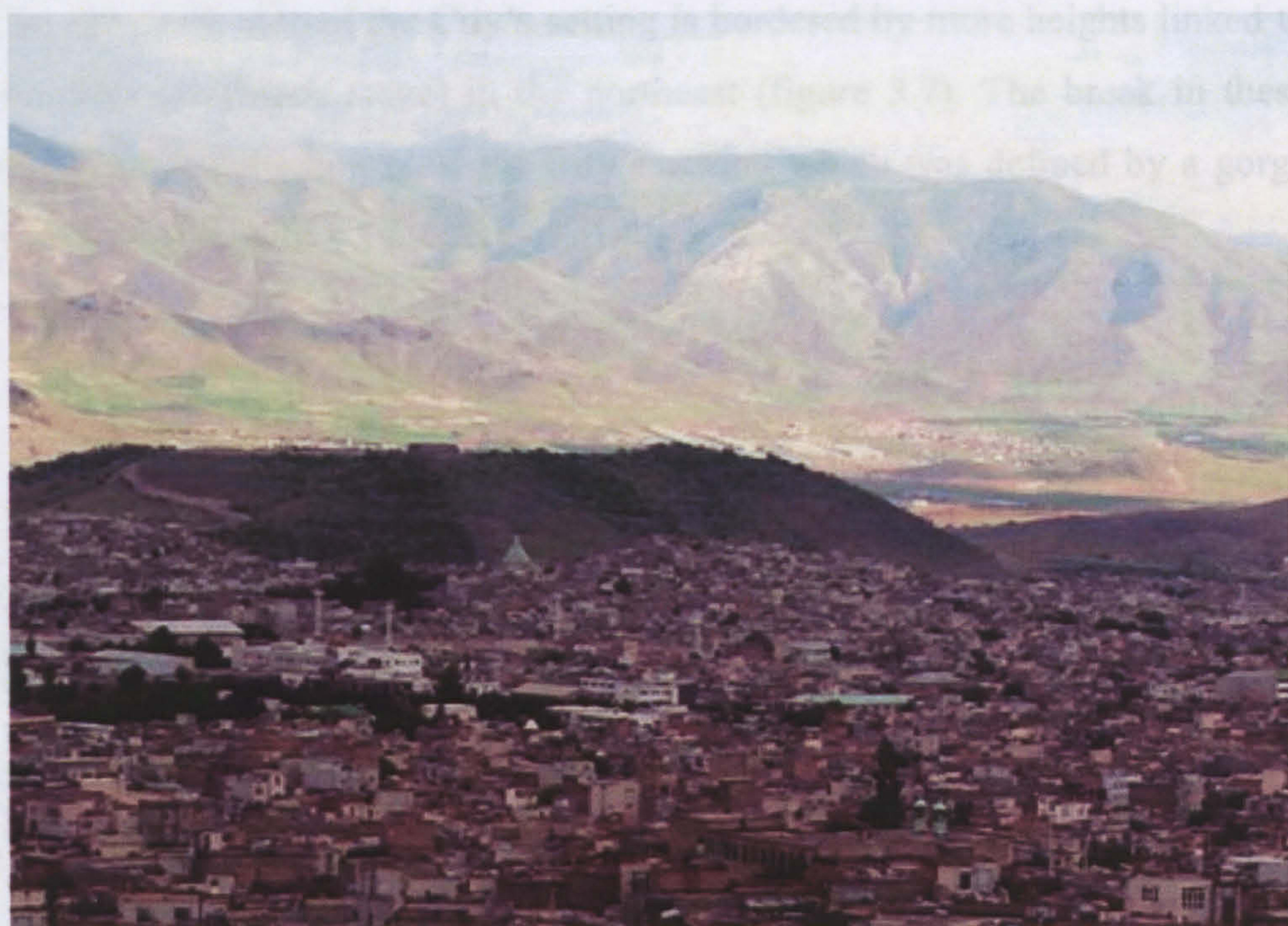


Figure 5. 5. The sacred hill of *Toos-nouzar* as point of reference for structure of the city, source: sanandaj.com

In the second level of city's geo-physical setting, we can also look at the southwest and west of the city limited by the *Âwear* Mountains as a strong, extensive and continuous boundary to this level (figure 5.6). This also has a sacred dimension in the view of the people, from its majesty and its role in refreshing the City (as a place of recreational activities, a source of water for both drinking and driving mills, and a source of stone for the City), as a home of *Kazzer Zendah* (*Peer-e ghaib*/invisible saint), and because it was seen as “a place of celestial revelation for Zoroaster in his second inspiration” (Dultshahi 1984: 88, 150)⁴.

On the northwest side of the City, the continuation of the *Âwear* mountain range forms the *Sarnuwi*⁵ heights, which are the main source of water channelled there by a number of *Qanâts* (subterranean canals that run in a northwest-southeast direction following the general slope of the land). The location of *Sarnuwi* is at a higher level than the City, thus giving the City's founders the possibility of using the force of gravity in the water supply. After this,

⁴ In this regard, people usually kept the old *Quran* between the rocks on the top of the mountain, as the etymology of *Kuchick Quran* reminds us, the stone of the *Quran*.

⁵ In the etymology of *Sarnuwi*, *Sar* means the higher level of something and *Nuwi*, based on the view of Marufi (one of the local historians interviewed 27.08.2003), implies the existence of nine residential areas or districts (villages) in the first geophysical setting of the city. Generally speaking, it means that this location is at a greater height than other places as it was used for the City's water supply.

moving clockwise, the north side of the City’s setting is bordered by more heights linked to the heights of *Kuchkarash* (block stone) in the northeast (figure 5.7). The break in these heights is the northern natural gateway of the City’s setting which was defined by a gorge area overlooking the main corridor.

It is cut by the valley of *Haft-âsiâb* (seven mills), thus, forming two *Âwears*, *Bouчек*/small and *Gawrah*/big

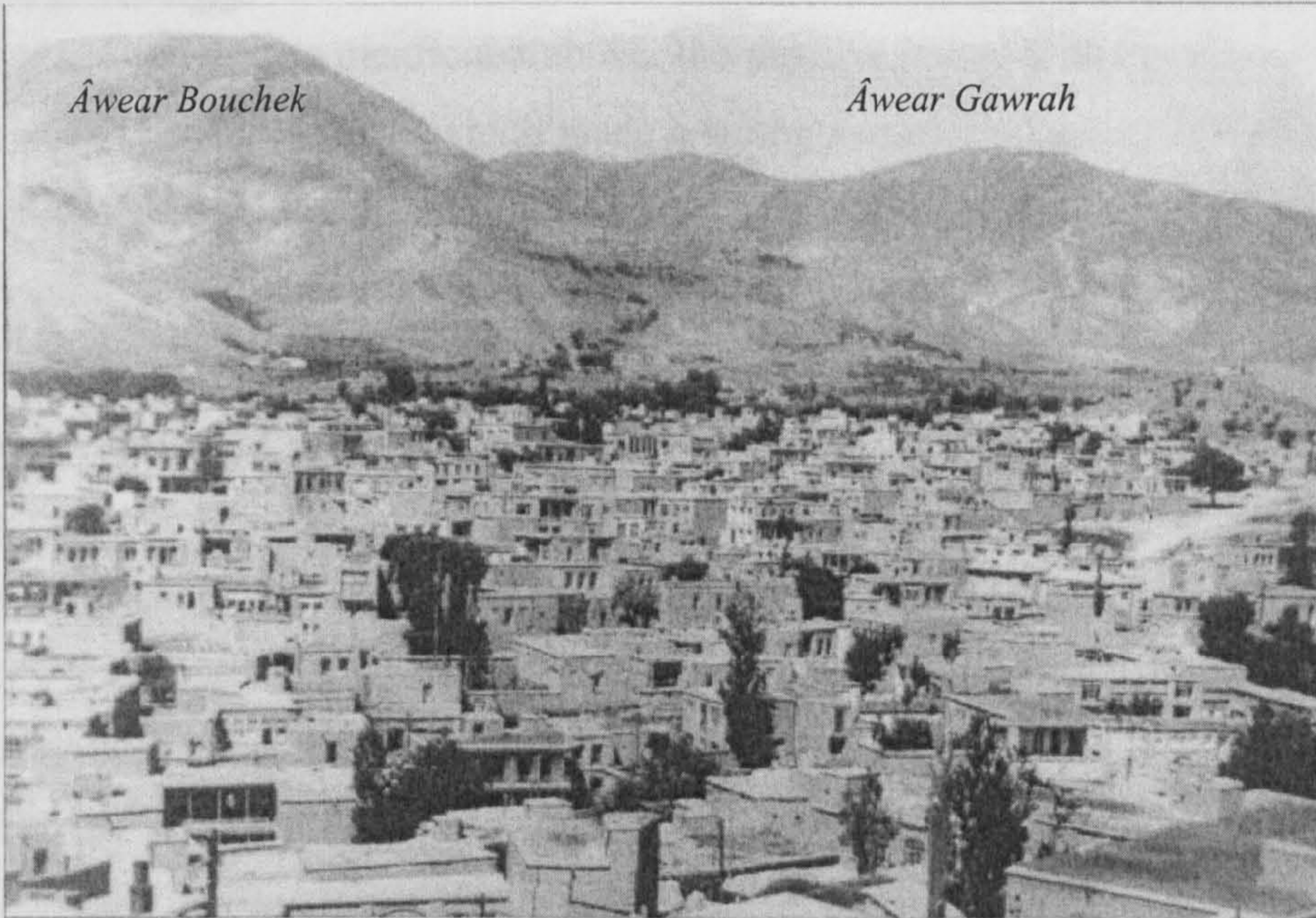


Figure 5. 6. *Âwear* Mountains as the western rim of both the first and second realisation of the City’s geophysical setting, source: from the collection of Mr. Gazarani

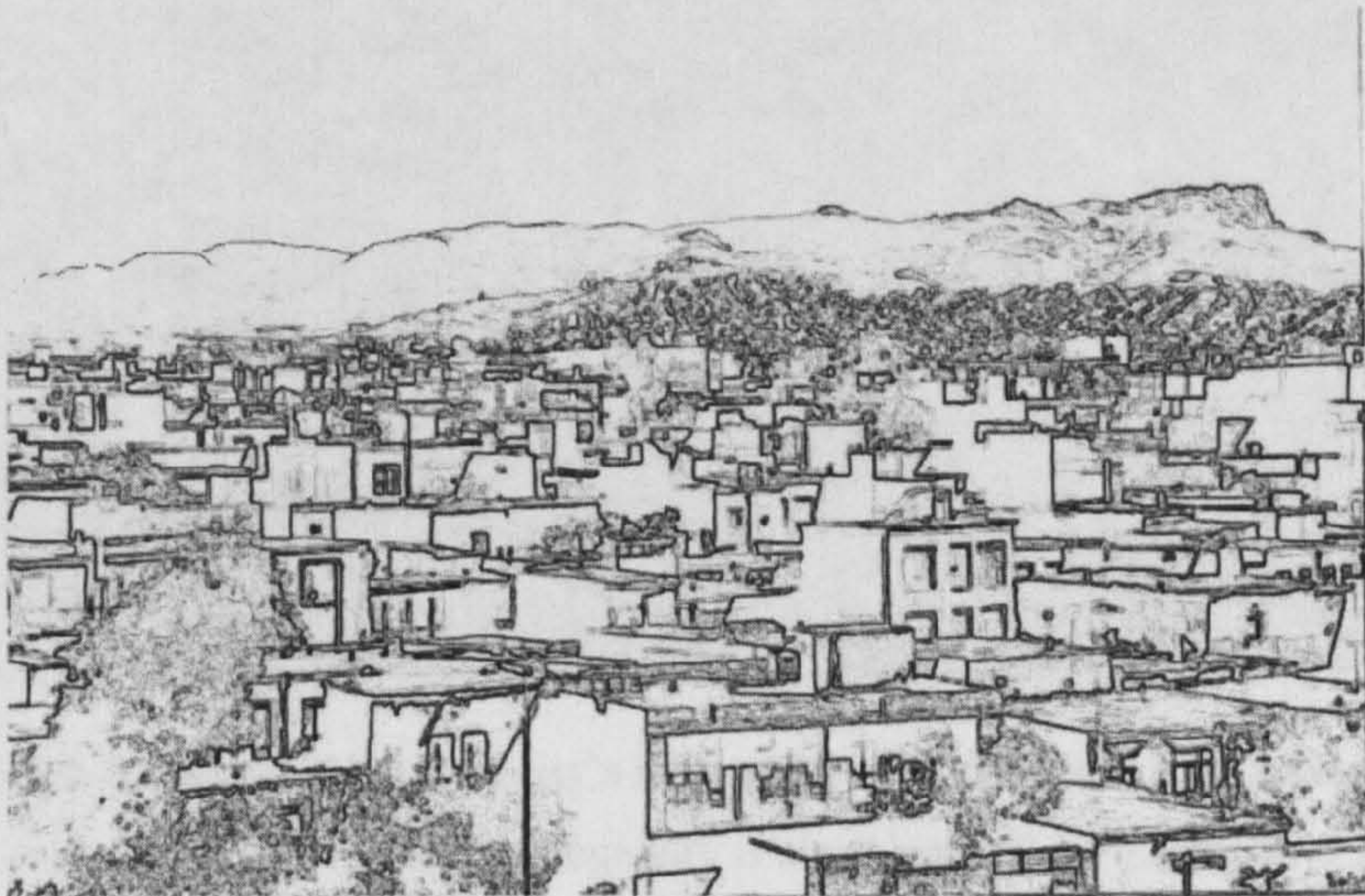


Figure 5. 7. The heights of *Kuchkarash* which defined northeast boundary of the city
Source: sketched by Mawlanei

The above two levels of city’s geophysical setting to some extent recall the notion of Rudolf Schwarz (1949 quoted in Norberg-Schulz 1971: 28) concerning the features of landscape and its reflection in the city’s structure (this reflection is depicted in the following words):

“The mountains are walls, the fields floors, the rivers paths, the coasts are edges and the lowest point in the mountain range, the doors”.

5.2.2. Reflection of the natural features of the geophysical settings in the City's morphology

In the realisation of city's boundaries mentioned above, the positive shape of the space was maintained in the centre of the bowl shape which made a strong sense of edgedness (Figure 5.8). This can be recognised as an important point in the City's defensive dimension which distinguishes it from other settlements within the first boundary. As stated, the settlements along the course of the corridor can be imagined as rosary beads which embrace the site of the City. This can be conceived of as the order of nature which gave the possibility of the City's foundation as a point of reference for both natural features and the man-made landscape and, more importantly, its reinforcing in the features of the settlement boundaries and its form, the City's walls and terraced fields and houses. Generally speaking, this is what made a space become a place by having two basic properties: “Concentration and enclosure” (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 10).



Figure 5. 8. The bowl shape of city's setting, second realisation, source sanandaj.com

View from the *Âwear* Mountains. The first boundary is also clear behind the northern heights of the City's inner boundary

Figure 5. 9. The City's walls in 1850, source: Mehriz, Shari' et al, 1998

The above realisation of the two levels of boundaries is in line with Leatherbarrow's view, who believes that “every location is really defined by physical objects” and that each element of the positive space conveys the features of its boundary in order to manifest the character of place (Leatherbarrow 1993). This means a “symbolic interaction” between prominent site

and built form (Kite 2002). In justifying this interaction, the two fortified walls of the city (based on the 1850 map of the City), the interior wall around the *Qalâ* and the exterior one around the quarter of the *Khâns* or political elites, can be recognised as a reflection of two levels of natural edgedness in order to enhance the defensive dimension of the City (figure 5.9). In addition, the four gates (*Darwâza*) of the City's wall can be seen as a reflection of the four passes through the City's boundary in the second level of the City's setting. Generally, this means that the city was founded and given a structure conforming to features of the surrounding area.



Figure 5. 9. The City's walls in 1850, source: Mehriar, Shamil et al. 1998

Furthermore, in line with above perceptions, we can look at the manner in which the social classes were settled in the City's natural footprint, which was to some extent that the higher classes occupied the desirable areas in the centre, south and south west and the lower classes were pushed to less desirable areas in the north. Based on the aerial photograph (figure 5.10),

the south and southwest of the city comprising the slope of the Âwear Mountains, were mainly reserved by the elites (*Khâns*) for their country houses to meet their desire for cool, fresh air and access to the natural landscape, especially during the summer. Although, this can be viewed as a clear response to the conflict of the classes which reflects the organisation of communications, the identities, differences and struggles of, class, race, culture, and what the interests of the tribal leaders in social order produced, to some extent it follows the order of nature which paved the way for such organisation (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Dovey 1999).



Figure 5. 10. The order of natural setting in the organisation of social classes

Source: *Sâzmân-é Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

The above evidence can be conceived as a tendency in human beings to reshape the features of natural environment within the city structure. It means that the City takes the principles of its structure from the order of nature and that the structure of nature acted as a foothold for man to express his being. This defines the nature of the traditional city which is “an attempt to embrace location and mediate the surroundings” as a single entity (Leatherbarrow 1993:51). In other words, this notion implies that the traditional built form is a tendency to

work “with, not against, the forces of nature” leading to a unified urban form within its natural foothold (Kheirabadi 1991: 39). Therefore, this interaction is a fundamental aspect of “existential space” (Norberg-Schulz 1971) which generally indicates “in direct and indirect ways how people have related to nature and what kind of existence they have created there” in order to embrace the outside world, and “bring the world close” (Davis 1997: 140).

5.3. The City's structure

After clarifying the geophysical settings and some points concerning the reflection of natural features in the overall morphology of the city, we now approach the structure of the City's built form and its constituent elements in order to make clear the details of structuring elements. At this stage, the physical portrait of the City will be analysed in order to identify its urban morphology and the nature of the aggregation of the City's main physical elements. First, then, it is necessary to study the plans which reveal the actual organisation of the City's parts. For this reason, the results from the City's historical background, especially the maps and drawings concerning the evolution of the city, are helpful to illustrate these points.

As explained, the general trend of analysis is based on the ideas of Kostof (1992) which begins with the concept of edge relating to the City's walls, continues with the residential quarters and then the public places.

4.3.1. General portrait of the traditional core

At first glance the map of the City (adapted from the Russian map of 1850 and the aerial photograph of 1957), can be perceived as being in two separate parts. This perception is created by the river of *Dara-bayân* running in a west-east direction, as it separated one of the quarters and the garden complex from the rest of the City.

The main part of the city is located on other side of the river, and comprises the other quarters, the bazaar, the Friday mosque (*Jumaa*), the *Qalâ*/citadel, and the city walls (figure 5.11). Generally, the aggregation of these components implies a semi-planned structure with its main elements in rectangular forms indicating the notion of formal planning and the layout of the quarter's buildings with their spatial units being analogous to the organic form (figure 5.11). As explained in the historical background, this point is mainly from the nature of the City's formation which was seen as being a founded city flowing from a political

decision which required the establishing of a permanent settlement on a given site. Applying these two concepts highlights the notion of defensive purposes, as the main parts, the *Qalâ*, the ruling elite's houses, bazaar, and *Jumaa* mosque, were surrounded by the compact form of the quarters. More importantly, within this general manner of organisation, two elements, the *Qalâ* (the seat of power) and the bazaar (the merchants setting) were highlighted due to their major role in City's life.

Moving on beyond the general portrait of the City's constituent elements given above, we now look at each urban element in detail to find the underlying shaping design principles.

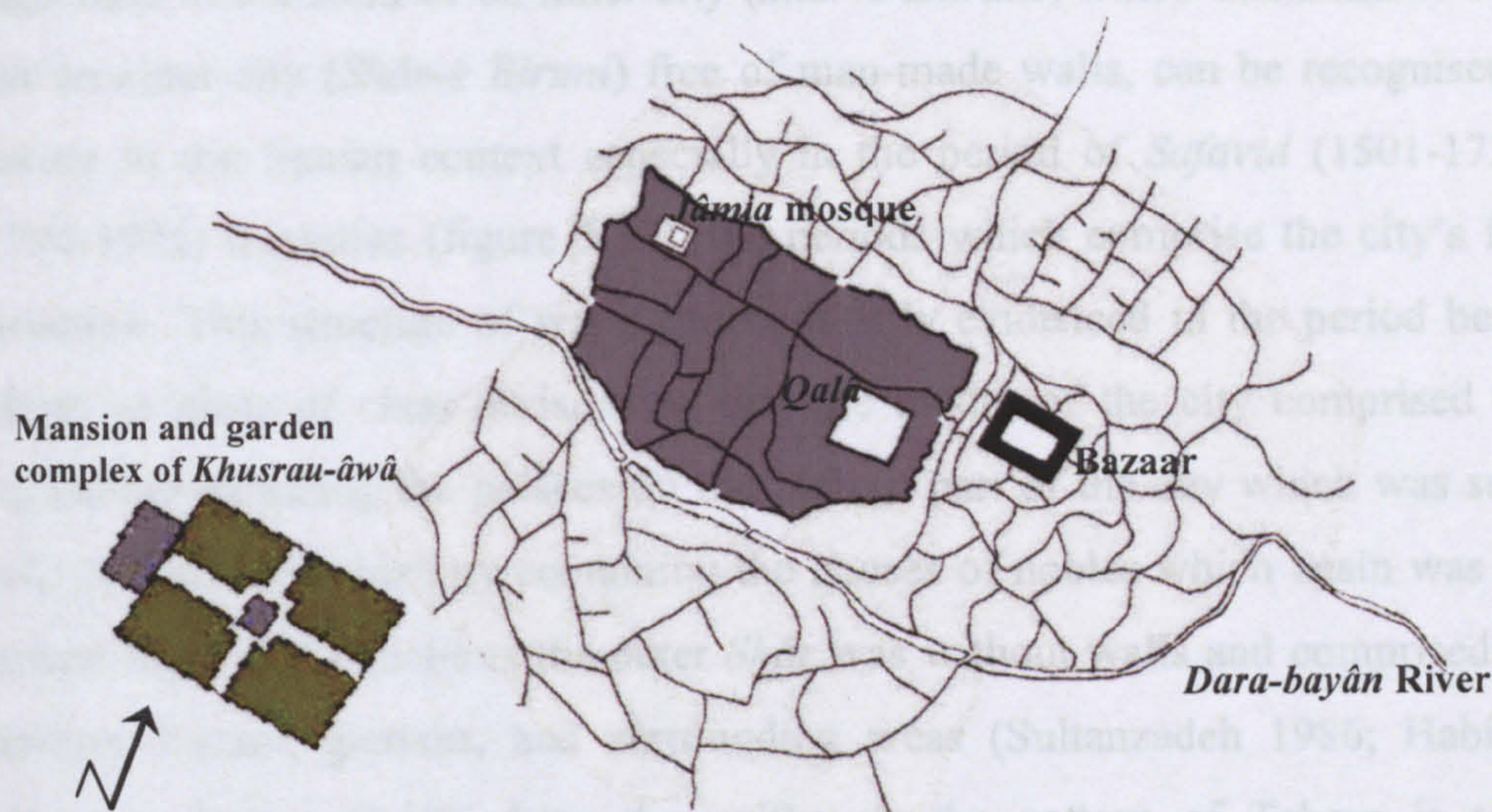


Figure 5. 11. Schema of the City's main components and the organic pattern of the quarters

5.3.2. City walls

As was made clear in the historical background, the city of *Sanandaj* possessed a peculiar structure in having a walled inner-city (which also included a fortified *Qalâ*) but having no outer wall to enclose the city as a whole. The evidence for this comes mainly from the Russian map which was surveyed in 1850 (Mehriar, Shamil et al. 1998). The two walls only enclosed the citadel (*Qalâ*) and ruling elite's houses (figure 5.9). Considering the concept of the multiple edges, as conceived by Kostof (1992), the castellated palace (citadel) and walled suburb occur in every culture, this type of edgedness can be regarded as a different projection because the main part of the city was located behind these two walls without man-made edgedness except the edge of a compact form of settlement and nature.

The perception of the third edge of the City can be recognised in the writings of Rich (1836: 207), who visited the city in 1820. On his first view of the City from the *Qalâ*, he perceived

it as being walled by three edges: '1) the castellated palace, situated on the high mountain, where he had stood, and was surrounded by a wall; 2) at the foot was another part of the town and another embattled wall; 3) beyond this wall was more of the city which again was surrounded by the wall'. But when he left the city and saw it again from outside, he realised that the third part was free of man-made walls. It had just been the compact form of the settlement which had convinced him to consider the third level of edge of the city as a whole.

More importantly, in referring to the general structure of other Iranian cities, this manner of edgedness in the form of an inner-city (*Shâr-e Daruni*) which contained two fortified walls and an outer-city (*Shâr-e Biruni*) free of man-made walls, can be recognised as a peculiar feature in the Iranian context especially in the period of *Safavid* (1501-1736) and *Qajâr* (1794-1925) dynasties (figure 5.12), the periods which comprise the city's foundation and evolution. This structure of walls can be mostly evidenced in the period before Islam and relates to ideas of class division so that the model of the city comprised three parts: 1) Dej/citadel including the palaces on the highest part of the city which was surrounded by a wall; 2) the inner-*shâr*/city containing the houses of nobles which again was walled; 3) and beyond these two structures the outer *Shâr* was without walls and comprised the residential quarters, bazaar, gardens, and surrounding areas (Sultanzadeh 1986; Habibi 1996). The following figures (5.12) show that, although the pattern of Tehran is to some extent comparable with the City, it contained three layers of city walls so that the third part (which comprised the city as a whole) was contained within its own fortified wall.

The reasons behind such structuring of the City's walls can be investigated in the context of history which has a direct link with the Kurdish frontier position within the Ottoman and *Safavid* Empires. In such a position, the City was founded with a definite purpose, "namely as a politico-administrative centre of Kurdistan", (Vasilyeva 2000: 5) for the *Safavid* empire and with a particular historical background of mound-cities borrowed mainly from the structure of mound-cities of the period preceding the City's foundation (1168-1639) and a concept present in the Median empire (728-550 BCE) as the well known ancestors of modern Kurds. In discussing the City's historical background, the finding was that more than four centuries of experiences of mound-cities formed the basic nucleus of Khan authority. The city began usually with a strong walled citadel/*Qalâ* on the top of a hill commanding the domain and the settlements at the foot of the hill, contextualised the concept of this structure for the City's walls. These notions, alongside the essentially semi-feudal community where

the Khan always imposed his superiority over others, applying this structure of walls was to strengthen the defences and to highlight the contrast between the classes. Therefore, this structure of walls were not definitions of the City’s boundaries, as the City had been projected in the Safavid period (Habibi 1996: 99), it was, rather, an element of defence and the symbol of power and class distinction (the model of the city in the pre-Islamic period). Convincing evidence of class stratification in the city of *Sanandaj*, lies in the words of Vasilyeva (2000: 8) who claimed that “the wealth in itself was not an indicator of the social status” because “the eldest son of Amanullâh-khân (1800-1825) was not chosen as his successor due to low background of his mother who was the daughter of a money-changer/*Serâf*” (Rich 1836: 209).

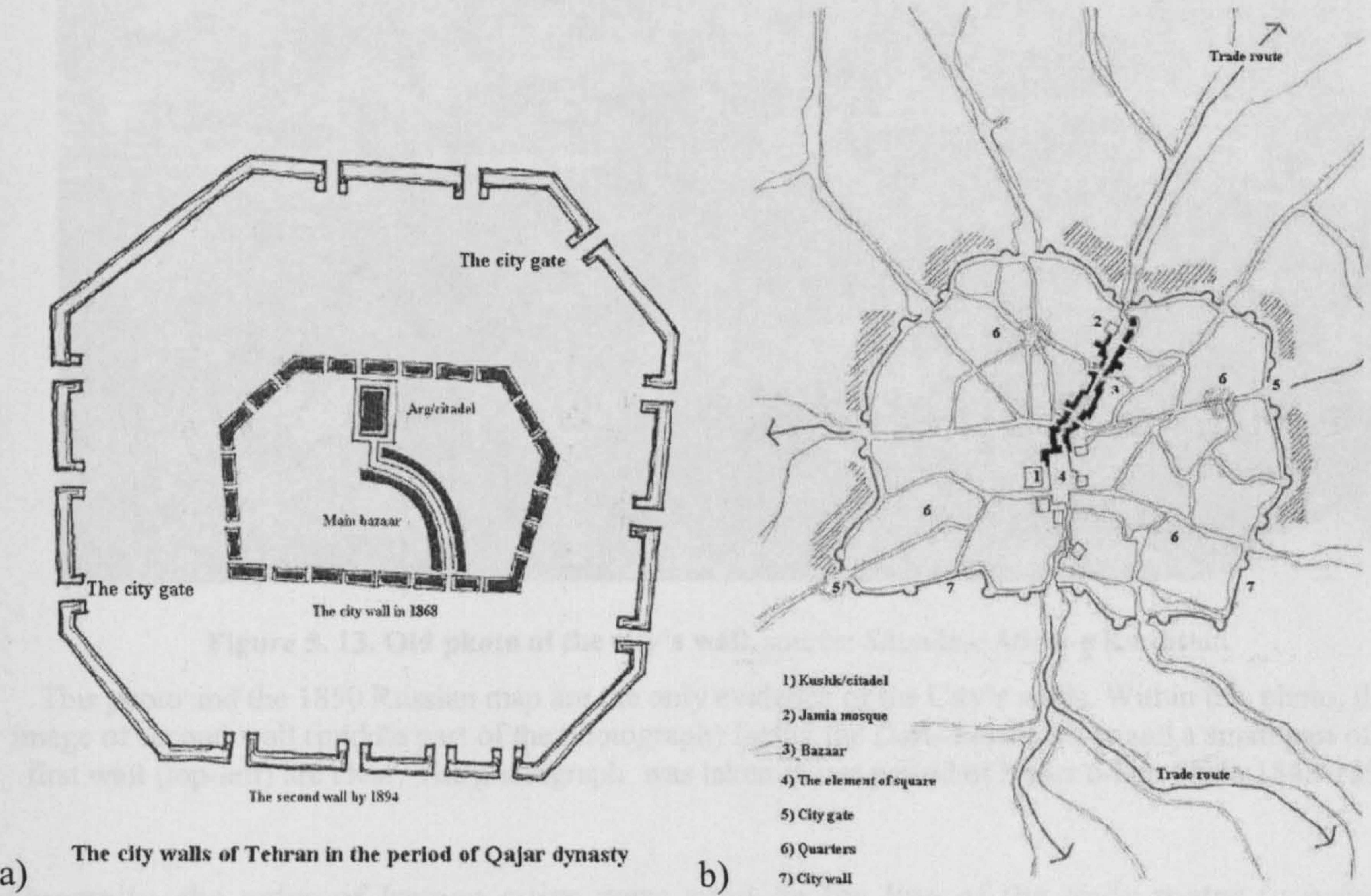


Figure 5.12. The pattern of city wall in the periods of *Qajarm* (a), and *Safavid* (b) dynasties

Source: Habibi 1996: 105, 123

5.3.3. Physical features of the City’s walls

Based on the Russians map dated 1850, (Mehriar, Shamil et al. 1998), the City’s walls were somewhat rectangular in form and oriented to the cardinal points of the compass with some degrees of deviation due to the general direction of the topography of the City’s setting which gave its longitudinal axis in the northwest-southeast direction (Figure 5.9, 5.11 and 5.14). Its partial change from a rectangular form was also due to the topography of the site

and the course of the *Dara-bayân* River in the south side facing to the river. The second wall, which contained the elite's quarter, was linked to the third part of the city by way of four fortified gates on its four sides.



Figure 5. 13. Old photo of the city's wall, source: *Sâzmân-e Miras-e Kurdistan*

This photo and the 1850 Russian map are the only evidence of the City's walls. Within this photo, the image of second wall (middle part of the photograph) facing the *Dara-bayân* River and a small part of the first wall (top-left) are clear. The photograph was taken in last period of Naser o-Din Shah, 1848-1896,

Generally, the gates of Iranian cities were sited on the line of the trade routes in order to control the flows of people, animals and goods from the rural hinterland (figures 5.12). In comparison, the gates of *Sanandaj* were set in another direction for the benefit of the ruling class. They were not the gates for trade activities leading to the site of the bazaar. They were made to sift the flows of people from other quarters and the countryside and as a clear symbol of the *Khâns'* socio-political status and as a threshold to the world of ruling elites. For this reason, each gate faced towards a particular part of the city; the north gate was toward the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ* (the gate of *Tapula*), the servants' quarter; the east gate faced the bazaar and the merchants' quarter (the gate of *Âghâ-Rahim*); the south gate was constructed to link the ruling class to the slopes of the *Âwear* mountains, the site of the

garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* and recreational activities (the gate of *Abull-azim*); and finally the west gate was towards the source of water in the site of *Dasht-e Sarnwi*, from where the lines of *Qanats* (subterranean canals) originated (the gate of *Dareh*/valley) in order to supply the main mansions of the City (figure 5.14).

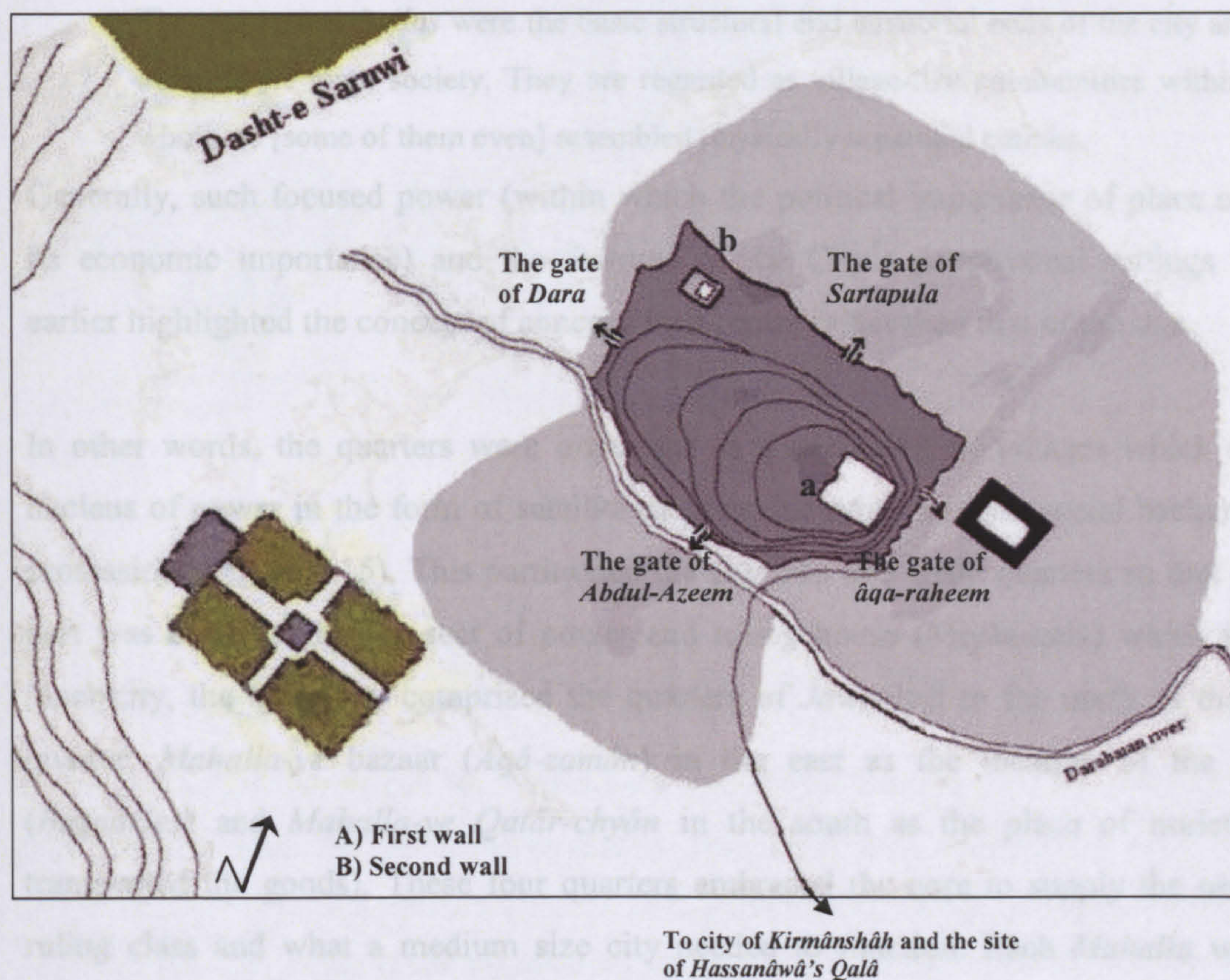


Figure 5. 14 The city walls and fortified gates

5.3.4. Residential quarters (*Mahallât*)

As has been shown, the city of *Sanandaj* was formed and evolved from the concept of mound-cities which established the walls around the palaces and the ruling houses as the symbol of the *Khân*'s authority. This diverged from the general pattern of quarter formation in Iranian cities, which was usually bound to the linear form of the bazaar as the backbone of the city, to a typical form of "self-centred" and self-contained" character in line with the *Khâns*' interests. To some extent, the centre of gravity of the city was based upon the source of power (*Qalâ*) instead of on the bazaar. Therefore, the course of the principal route was formed consistent with the centre of gravity being within the inner-*shâr* leading from northeast (where a parade of troops usually accompanied the new *Wâli* and other Iranian authorities to the inner-*shâr* and then to the square in front of the *Qalâ*) to the southeast

(where the summer house of *Wâli* was located on the slope of the *Âwear* Mountains) along which most of the quarters evolved and the bazaar was excluded and maintained as a point (instead of as a line) within the maze pattern of streets outside of the city walls (figure 5.41). This orientation made the quarters centripetal cells of the city to such an extent that Vasilyeva (2000: 7) stresses:

The quarters-*mahallas* were the basic structural and territorial cells of the city and the basic units of the town society. They are regarded as village-like communities within the urban whole, as [some of them even] resembled physically separated entities.

Generally, such focused power (within which the political importance of place outweighed its economic importance) and the features of the City’s geophysical settings mentioned earlier highlighted the concept of concentrated centre rather than that of the line.

In other words, the quarters were organised as a collection of villages which circled the nucleus of power in the form of satellite quarters according to their social backgrounds and professions (figure 5.15). This partitioned the city into four main quarters so that the central part was occupied by the seat of power and ruling house (*Miyân-qalâ*) which formed the inner-city, the outer-city comprised the quarters of *Jawr-âwâ* to the north as the servants’ quarter, *Mahalla-ye bazaar* (*Âqâ-zamân*) in the east as the location of the merchants (*Bazaaries*) and *Mahalla-ye Qatâr-chyân* in the south as the place of muleteers (who transported the goods). These four quarters embraced the core to supply the needs of the ruling class and what a medium size city needed to function. Each *Mahalla* was in turn divided into subsections which were also called *Mahalla*.

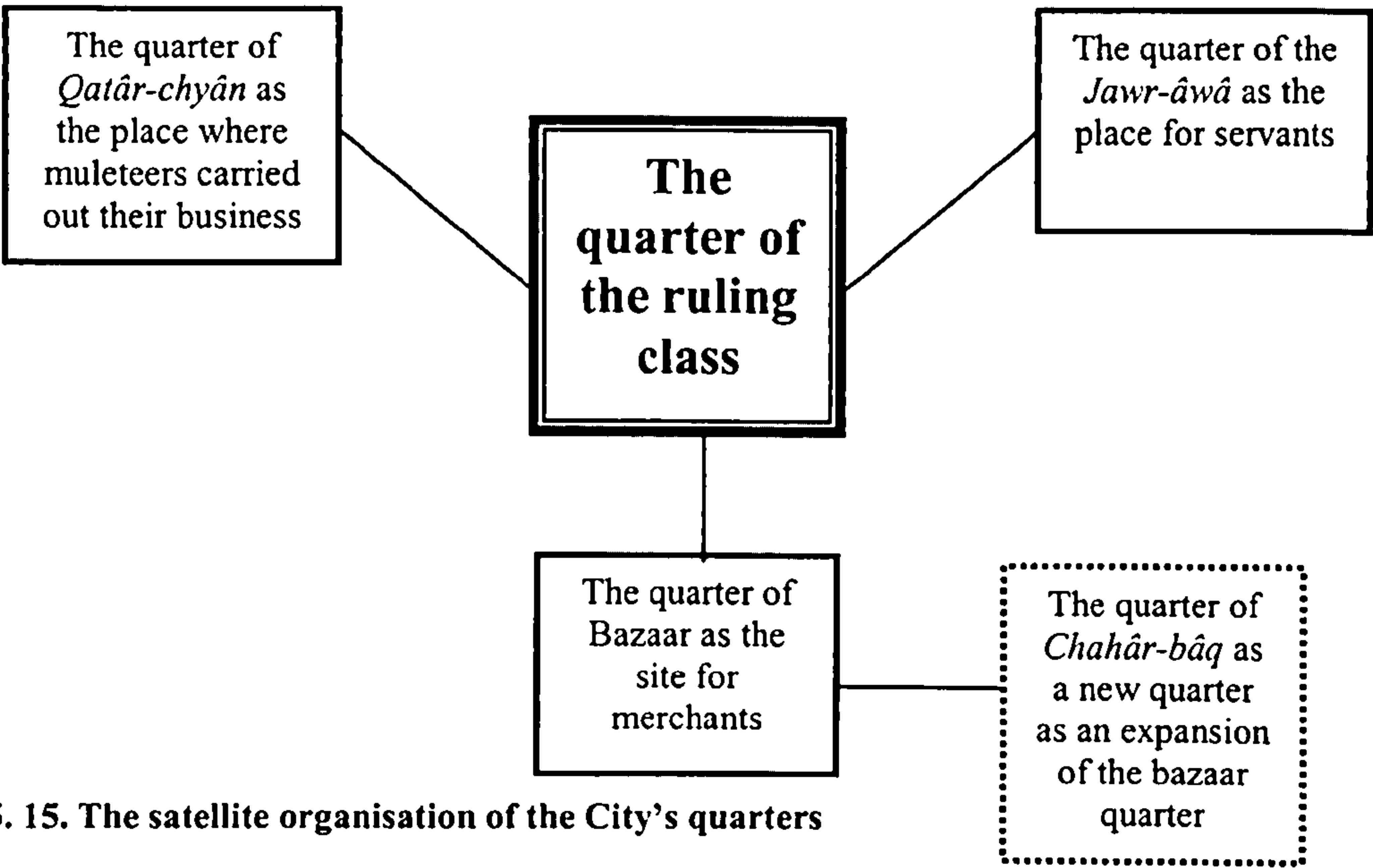


Figure 5. 15. The satellite organisation of the City’s quarters

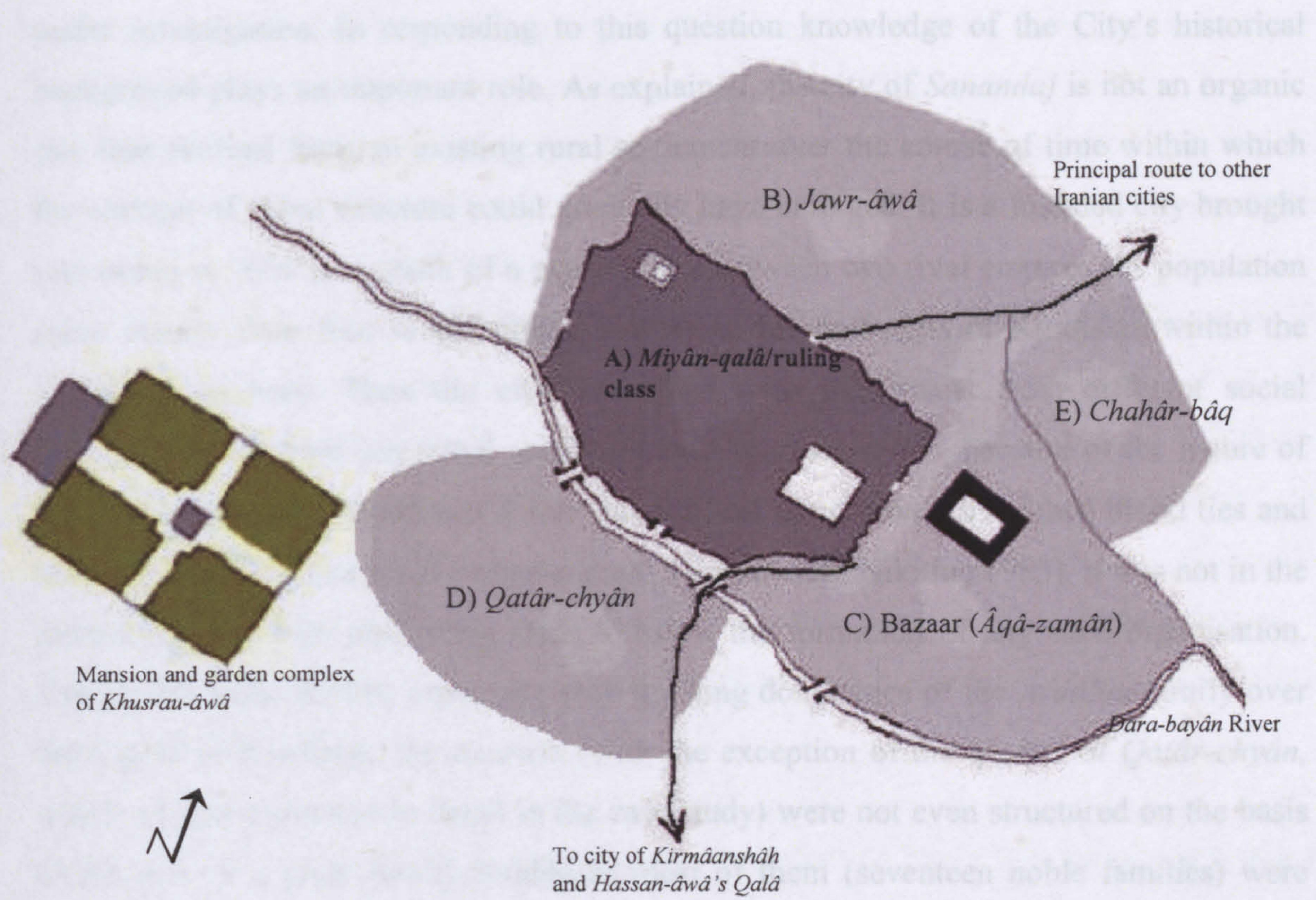


Figure 5. 16. The City's main quarters

The above organisation can to some extent convey the structure of the Iranian city in the period before Islam. The point can be readily understood from Falamaki (1987: 5):

It can be outcome from the structure of Old Iranian city (antiquity) that the city was directly dependant on the governmental-administrative order, insomuch as the form of its physical space also followed this order. In this governmental order, the citizens were divided into four classes due to their professional backgrounds and each was allocated a special status and limited position.

Overall, it means a structure of co-existence which sustained the life of the traditional city. "The city helps to sustain the ruling elite, and in turn the city's own health, its growth and survival, requires a well-developed power structure" (Kostof 1992: 74).

5.3.4.1. The City structure and the concept of tribal structure

Much of Kurdish society is essentially tribal, and derives from the largely nomadic and semi-nomadic existence of most Kurdish tribes in previous centuries (McDowall 1996: 9).

Considering the notion of tribal structure in Kurdish society, one may ask why the structuring of the City was not based on tribal organisation. This is an important question to address before moving on to each quarter which links the research with the context

under investigation. In responding to this question knowledge of the City's historical background plays an important role. As explained, the city of *Sanandaj* is not an organic city that evolved from an existing rural settlement over the course of time within which the concept of tribal structure could gradually have emerged. It is a founded city brought into being in 1639 as a result of a peace treaty between two rival empires. Its population came mainly from four ruined *Qalâs*/citadels in different parts of Kurdistan within the *Ardalâns'* territory. Thus the city was filled with inhabitants from different social backgrounds far from any tribal confederation. Apart from this, because of the nature of tribal organisation in Kurdistan where the political dimension outweighed blood ties and it mostly implied a "defensive organisation" (Barth 1953; Nikitine 1983), it was not in the interests of the *Wâli* and ruling class to allow the formation of any such organisation. Taking this point further, especially with the long dominance of the *Ardalân* family over the region of Kurdistan, the quarters (with the exception of the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*, which will be examined in detail in the case study) were not even structured on the basis of the role of a great family/notable as most of them (seventeen noble families) were concentrated in the inner-*shâr* within the second wall. This, in turn, supports the notion of power relations which focused on the great *Khân/Wâli* as the head of a strong quasi-feudal community and did not match any political confederation within the city, especially not a tribal one. The evidence of this point can be traced in the words of Rich (1936) who observed a discussion between two rival families *Bâbân* and *Ardalân*. "The *Wâli* of *Ardalân* once asked Abd al Rahman *Bâbân* why his own servants, though generously treated, would never follow him into exile nor show any personal loyalty, such as *Bâbân* retainers usually demonstrated" (McDowall 2001: 91).

The answer of old Abdurrahman Pasha was very characteristic. 'You are not,' said the old chieftain, 'the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may clothe, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins; they are but your servants! (Rich 1836: 86)

Apart from the above points, according to the main sources on the pattern of social organisation in Kurdistan, tribal associations existed mostly within the nomadic Kurds who had a mobile structure between the two empires. Thus, within the walls of the cities tribal affiliations were weakened (Izady 1992). This point does not indicate the existence of a hard dividing line between the city and the countryside, especially the nomadic life. As Nikitine (1983) indicates, the feudal master (such as *Wâli Ardalân*) not only imposed his power on

settled people, but also on the tribes, especially in order to provide forces for his military forces. There is further evidence in the writing of Vasilyeva (2000: 12):

The riders of tribal origin participated in all military actions undertaken by the *Ardalâns*. The tribe provided the city with military energy and power and nomad camps served as a shelter for the representatives of the prince's house in danger.

Rich (1836: 217) wrote that although the *Wâli* of *Ardalân* unlike his *Bâbân* colleague (in the Iraqi region) did not act as the head of tribes, 'many nomadic Kurds were under his jurisdiction, which were integrated in occasion of war against hostiles. These were branches of the *Sheikh Ismaeli*, the *Merdemeh*, the *Kelhore*, and *Jâf* tribes'. In addition, the agricultural products from this way of life (a mobile pattern on the frontier of the two empires) formed the backbone of the economy as the product from *Sanandaj* most in demand was butter, which was exported to other regions and even to the court of the Safavid Empire (Vasilyeva 2000).

Generally, the above points again reinforce the view that the factor that had a major role in the parochiality of the City's social structure was the professions - belonging to a particular activity - and their concentration in distinct quarters. This point is more evident when the names of quarters and their subdivisions are considered. Their etymology mostly reflects the professional backgrounds of the inhabitants and there is no link with a particular family or tribe. The importance of this factor was such that Vasilyeva (2000: 9) states, "the establishment and growth of the city was related to the distinction of professionals".

5.3.4.2. The quarter of *Miyân-qalâ*/ruling class

As the meaning of its name *Miyân-qalâ* implies, the citadel in between, it comprises the central part of the city which contains the seat of power, the ruler's house with military forces overlooking the agrarian countryside. The seat of power was located on the higher part of the site in the southeast corner of the quarter, overlooking all around and surrounded by its own battlemented wall to secure greater privacy (figure 5.17). An impression of this castellated structure can be found in the words of Kinneir (1813: 144, 145), a visitor to the City in 1810:

The *Wallee*, who seldom quits this place, resides in a sumptuous palace, built on the top of a small hill in the centre of the town, where he maintains a degree of state and splendour superior to anything I have seen in Persia, except at court.

According to Gaube (1979: 22), such location of the government's court at the highest point of the settlement is one of the characteristics of early Iranian cities in general and Izady (1992: 263) makes the point that it is a basic design of cities in Kurdish culture which was adopted into the architecture of other cultures.

Due to the mass destruction of the site, especially after the removal of the *Ardalâns* in 1867, the detail of its constituent elements is not very clear and needs more archaeological studies. The only exception to this point is Rich's observations which make clear some of the details. From his observation, the site of power contained the following buildings: a pavilion called *Khusrawia*, an old audience chamber supported by pillars at its front built in the period of *Khusrau-khân* in 1773, an alcove at the back of the hall was named *Shâh-nesheen/Tâlâr*, a new, splendid audience chamber larger than the *Tâlâr* built by the then *Wâli* which contained various portraits of Iranian and non-Iranian kings, there were two beautifully ornamented galleries on the sides of the new hall named *Bâla-khané*, and many other buildings under construction.



Figure 5. 17. The seat of power on the top of a hill in the centre of the City, source *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

View from east towards the seat of power on the top of a hill in the centre of the town. The image of *Khusrawia* with pillars in front is in the right corner of the hill and *Jumaa* mosque is clear in right corner of the photograph which was taken in last period of Naser o-Din Shah, 1848-1896.

More recent study concerning the *Qalâ* reveals that its site contained a geometrical notion of square; “a concentrated form of centre flanked by four *Tâlârs* oriented to the cardinal points of the campus” (Pars 2004: 84).

The quarter also accommodated the ruling houses, those of seventeen noble families, within the second wall. Because of this, it was recognised as the quarter of the ruling class – “the bearer of the political fate of the region, namely the politico-administrative centre” (Vasilyeva 2000: 5, 7). As explained, it was completely separated from the other quarters, the city of commoners, by the fortified wall and fortified gates as a symbol of the power and distinction of classes. This is consistent with view of Kostof (1992: 75, 76), who says that there were two primary impulses that motivated the formation of the “sovereign district” in the centre of the town with fortified walls – “the dignity of the ruler, and his safety against the rival provinces”.

Apart from the image of the wall, the size of houses with the main device of a central courtyard, mainly imitated from “the *Safavids*’ buildings in Isfahân” (Rich 1836), also suggests the distinction of this quarter from the whole city (figure 5.18). For example, if one moved within the quarter towards another part of the city, one would sense a gradual change of image in the size and appearance of the houses. More important is the grand scale of the gateways as compared to other quarters which communicated the notion of wealth and power (figure 5.18). More examples are given in the chapters concerning the case study.

The quarter was self-reliant in character as it was equipped with the common elements of an Iranian city; mosque, *Hammâm* (bath house), *Bazaarché* (small market), and public spaces to meet the needs of the inhabitants. Apart from these elements, it also contained the *Jumaa* mosque and the urban element of a square in front of the *Qalâ* facing to the west (figure 5.19). The details of these elements are discussed further in the specific section concerning the public places of the city.

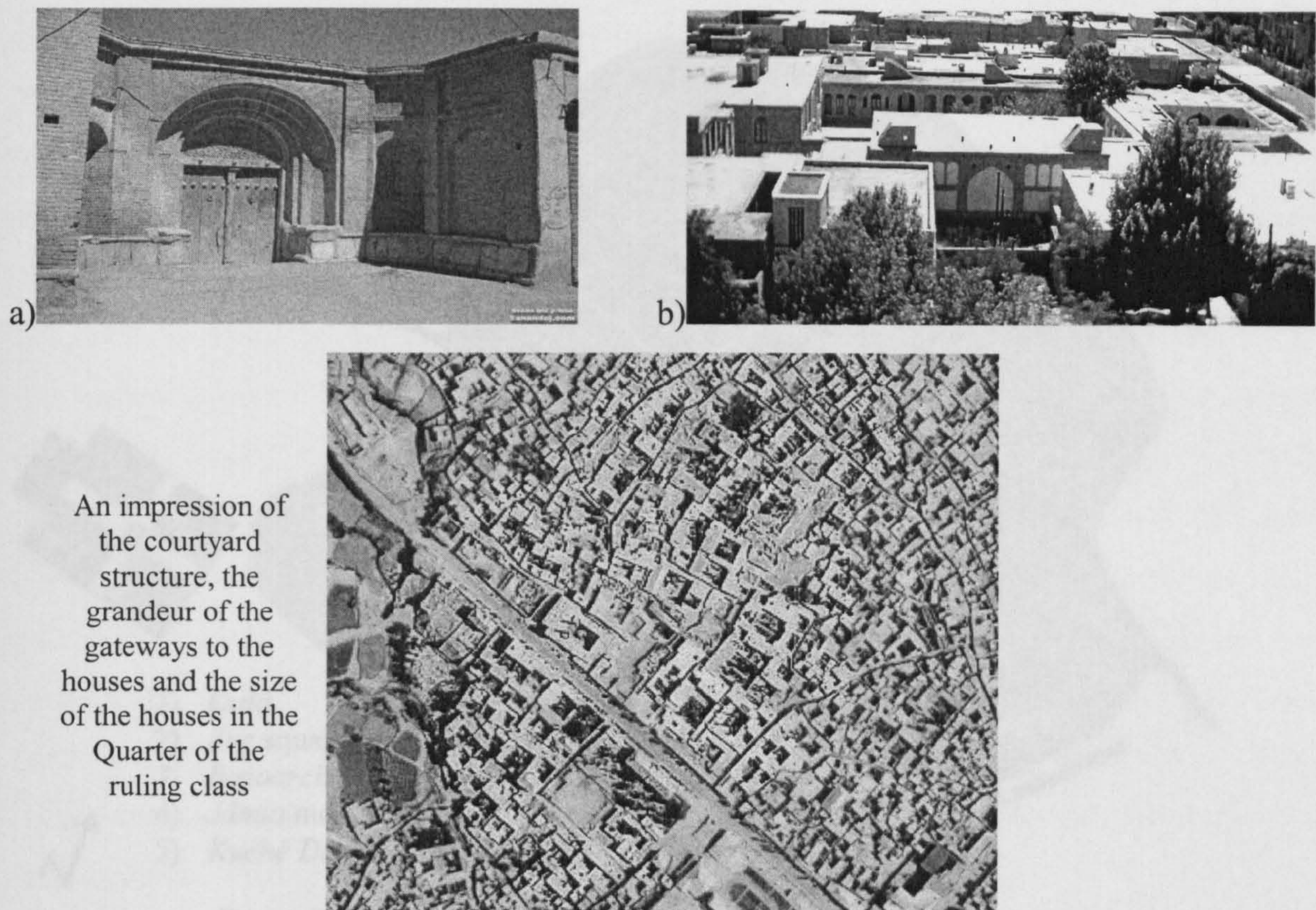


Figure 5. 18. The grandeur of architecture in the quarter of ruling class, sources: a) from sanandaj.com, b) by author Autumn 2003, aerial photo from *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

The street pattern was, to some extent, conditioned by topography and the social background of its inhabitants. As the south side was bordered by the river, the lines of main streets followed the contours of the slope. The sewer system influenced the directions of other streets on the slope of the *Dara-bayân* River, especially the streets perpendicular to the contours. The flow of the sewers was controlled by changing the shape of streets from straight lines to curved ones. As the seat of power and home of wealthy people, it was the only quarter that was supplied with a sewer system emptying into the *Dara-bayân* River, this was especially so for those areas on the slope facing the river. Also, as it was home to wealthy people, the sizes of houses were relatively large which resulted in large sized blocks and relatively straight streets. Generally, due to the extent of the physical changes, it is difficult to draw a model of the street pattern in this quarter.

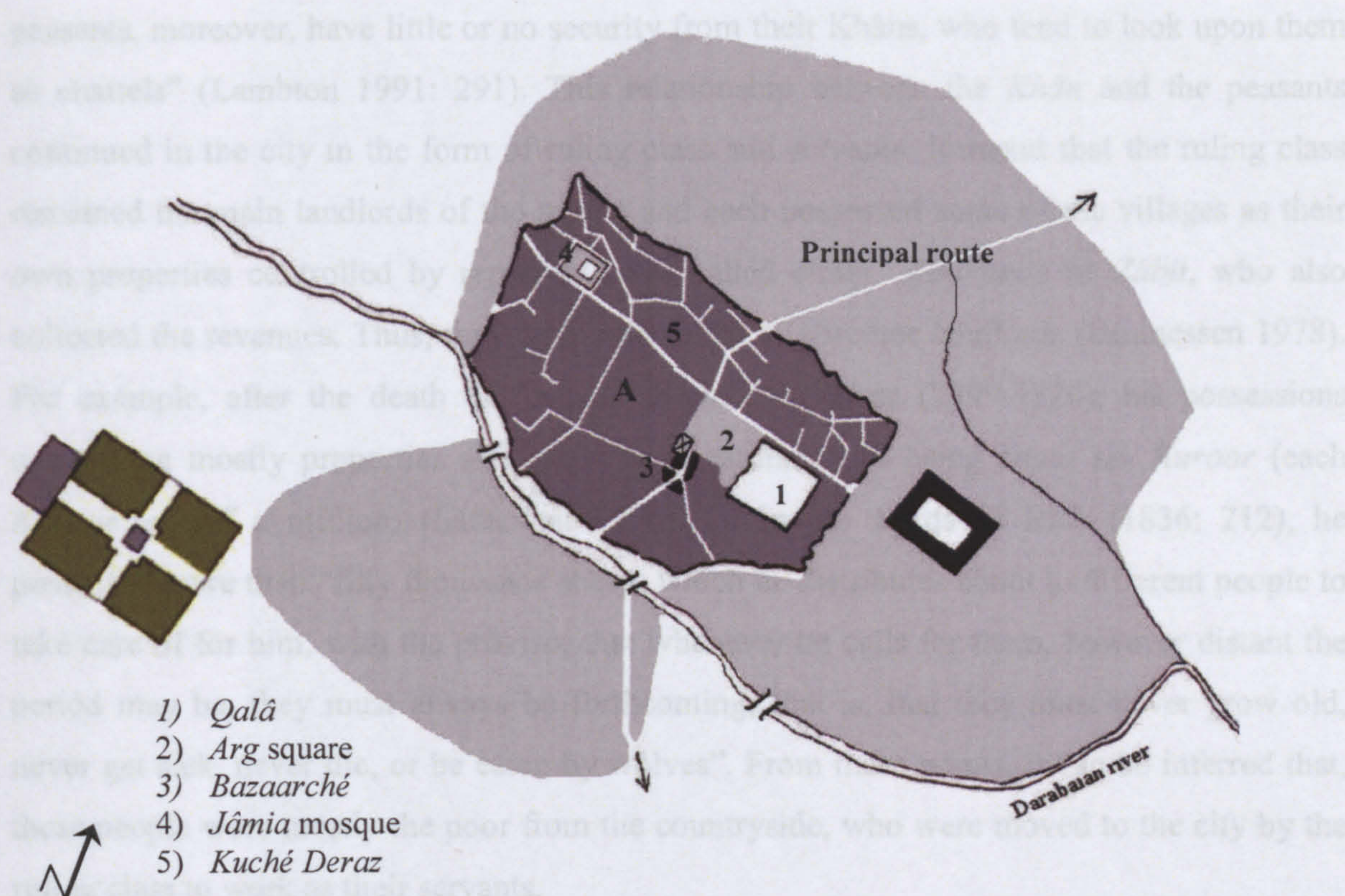


Figure 5. 19. The location of *Miyân-qalâ* quarter and its main elements

5.3.4.3. The quarter of *Jawr-âwâ*

The second part of the city comprises the north side of the inner-*shâr* (the quarter of *Miyân-qalâ*) named *Mahalla-ye Jawrâwâ* (figure 5.16). As the etymology of its name indicates, it was the place of toilers, the City's servants and workers. The existence of these people was due to the nature of the "quasi-feudal" (McDowall 2001) structure of the community, where the *Khân* possessed high rank and status in the community and, thus, imposed his power over the peasants and also, partly, the nomads.

As Lambton (1991: 140) indicates, the landowning classes were the most powerful elements especially in the Qajâr kingdom which formed the concept of the *Khân* in reinforcing their role as a link between the state and the area under control (Garthwaite 1981). Bruinessen (1978:81, 82)) describes *Xan/Khân* and *Beg* as originally feudal titles, referring to people who were literate, civilized and engaged in politics and possessing land-holdings - often large - in the plain that were cultivated by non-tribal peasants.

In the semi-feudal structure of community, the life of the peasants was tightly bound to the land, which they were allocated to work for the benefit of the *Khâns*. From this point, "the

peasants, moreover, have little or no security from their Khâns, who tend to look upon them as chattels" (Lambton 1991: 291). This relationship between the *Khân* and the peasants continued in the city in the form of ruling class and servants. It meant that the ruling class remained the main landlords of the region and each possessed some of the villages as their own properties controlled by representatives called either *Kadkhudâ* or *Zâbit*, who also collected the revenues. Thus, they were referred to as absentee landlords (Bruinessen 1978). For example, after the death of Amanullah-khân the great (1799-1820), his possessions comprising mostly properties and cattle were estimated as being about six *Kuroor* (each *Kuroor* is half a million) (Sanandaji 1996). Or in the words of Rich (1836: 212), he possessed more than "fifty thousands sheep, which he distributes about to different people to take care of for him, with the proviso, that whenever he calls for them, however distant the period may be, they must always be forthcoming; that is, that they must never grow old, never get sick, never die, or be eaten by wolves". From these points, it can be inferred that, these people were mostly the poor from the countryside, who were moved to the city by the ruling class to work as their servants.

Considering the above and due to their low status they were settled in an undesirable northern part of the city site which had problems with the supply of water. The morphology of the quarter's setting was also hilly which in turn influenced the morphology of the settlements. Apart from being a quarter of servants as a part of the social structure of the city in general, one can observe differences relating to wealth and status, especially areas in the vicinity of the ruling class quarter. The morphology of the houses close to the ruling class district is completely different from the houses far from that district. So that, if one moves about within the quarter, especially starting from a line close to the border between the two quarters, one would observe major changes in the form, size and spatial structure of the houses on moving further from the line towards north. In other words, it means that the higher status families settled close to the quarter of ruling class and the lower status families moved further away, onto the hilly part of the quarter's setting (figure 5.20 and 5.21).

The gradual change of urban grain from the quarter of ruling class (A) towards the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ* (B), and irregular pattern of streets due to the role of topography



Figure 5. 20. The urban grain in the quarters of ruling class and *Jawr-âwâ*, source *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

In respect to a street pattern, we can not identify a specific model because the general layout of streets was due to the natural morphology of the site, so that the main streets followed the natural gullies leading from the northern heights of the city site. To some extent, proximity to these gullies formed the two primary streets (*Râsté*) in the quarter into relatively straight lines (figure 5.21). Apart from the social status of the inhabitants, this can be recognised as the effect of the natural setting which led the inhabitants to protect their houses from unexpected flood risks. Parallel to these streets, another one was formed based on the existing man-made route to the countryside. These three streets made up the backbone of the quarter as they crossed the quarter and linked to the principal route; the other primary streets (*Kuché*) branched out from it to make connections between and give access to the houses. This means that the movement of people was channelled from those three streets to the principal route leading to the north gate of the inner-*shâr* or to the site of bazaar.



Figure 5. 21. The role of topography in the layout of street pattern in the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ*

Sources: aerial photo from *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957 and map from Alten 1958

The pattern of movement above is markedly different from the common pattern in other Iranian cities, where the main thoroughfares (*Râsté*) are usually linked to the linear form of the bazaar which crossed the city and formed its backbone (Sultanzadeh 1986; Kheirabadi 1991). But here the *Râsté* are linked to the principal route which leads towards the *Qalâ* instead of the bazaar. The reasons for this distinctive form, which will be examined in detail later, are general socio-spatial factors which influenced the built form of the City to be mainly in line with the poles of political powers located within the inner-*shâr* not with socio-economical powers. Thus, the bazaar was formed in a rigid structure within a compact form of settlement away from the principal route.

The important point is in relation to the centre of the quarter which was formed along the existing thoroughfare not the other two lines. In line with the previous discussion, this can be ascribed to the social background of the inhabitants which is explained by their link with their villages of origin to supply particular types of their needs. The centre was called *Bazaarché Istânbuli* and contained the general public buildings of Iranian cities comprising a

mosque, *Hammâm*/bathhouse, *Qahva-khané* and retail shops, apart from the element of *Husayniyyih* peculiar to Shiite ideology which was missed.

5.3.4.4. The quarter of *Âqhâ-zamân*/bazaar

The third part of the City was limited to the east side of the inner-*shâr*, and was called *Mahalla-ye* bazaar or *Âqhâ-Zamân* (figure 5.16). This was the merchants' area which encircled the rectangular form of the bazaar. It is the only quarter which was mainly formed by the function of the bazaar and, thus, evolved out of the line of the principal route.

As discussed in the historical background, the City population also comprised religious minorities, Jews and Armenians, who were moved in from the northern part of Iraq and some from the villages in the region to manage the economic activities of the City (Ayazi 1992). Due to their professional background and well-known reputation as traders (Nikitine 1983), they mostly settled in this quarter close to the bazaar. Kinneir (1973), who visited the city in 1810, reports they mostly traded with Mosul, Baghdad and Isfahân.

Each of those two religious minorities occupied a particular part of the quarter. The southern part, called *Mahalla-ye Masihiân*, was occupied by Armenians, and the northern part, called *Mahalla-ye Kalemihâ* was occupied by the Jewish inhabitants. Each had their own place of worship. As the Jewish minority was more numerous than the Christians, it had three synagogues. One was called the great synagogue and was used for special ceremonies. None of them bore special features or symbols, so they are difficult to locate, this was because the Jewish minority usually changed a residential house into their place of worship. This feature of the synagogues was also noted by English (1966) in the city of *Kirmân*. However, in the case of the Church this is quite different. As it was built as a Church it faces the east and the interior dimension implies the idea of a Church. Although, its exterior facade was considered to be in harmony with its context, it was a prominent feature of this urban element recognisable through the large scale of its walls and the small domes on the roof (figure 5.22).

Following the socio-political changes that happened after the *Qajâr* dynasty, over time most of the Armenian people migrated to the city of Tehran or other major cities in Iran, and the Jewish people largely moved to Israel. Today, except for a few families, none live in the city,

but the physical character of the quarter, with their places of worship, still recalls and communicates about their lives and memories.



Figure 5. 22. Gateway of the Church and its external façade, source: author august 2003-4

The church entrance shows its harmony with its context in close up. Its façade is distinguishable in character from the surrounding houses when it is viewed from further away

Being minorities in an Islamic region and engaging in trade activities, with the symbols of wealth, are strong inducements to those people to make the particular layout of their quarter completely different from other quarters. This layout strongly suggested high concern with security, mostly against the invasions of hostile tribes rather than the inhabitants of other quarters. Ayazi (1992) indicates, they lived in an atmosphere of friendship with the other inhabitants, indeed, to such an extent that Muslim people also lived in the quarter even as neighbours, and they usually participated in each other's ceremonies.

The layout referred to is the complexity of the pattern of streets which can be recognised as an "original, vernacular solution" to the needs of defence (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 118). This pattern was conditioned by the structure of the residential blocks and is similar to the shape of a beehive's cells. The lanes or streets are narrow, and continuously change in direction (figure 5.23). More important is the network of streets close to the bazaar which formed some semi-circles near the bazaar in order to limit direct access to the site. In line with this, the overall street pattern of the quarter and even the city as well did not maintain any direct line of access from the bazaar to the countryside to manage the flow of caravans into the site.

This pattern of streets in the quarters occupied by minorities is to some extent a common feature in an Islamic Iranian city. As English (1966) indicates, the lanes of the Jewish quarter

of *Kirmân* were extremely narrow and even more irregular than the Muslim residential quarters.

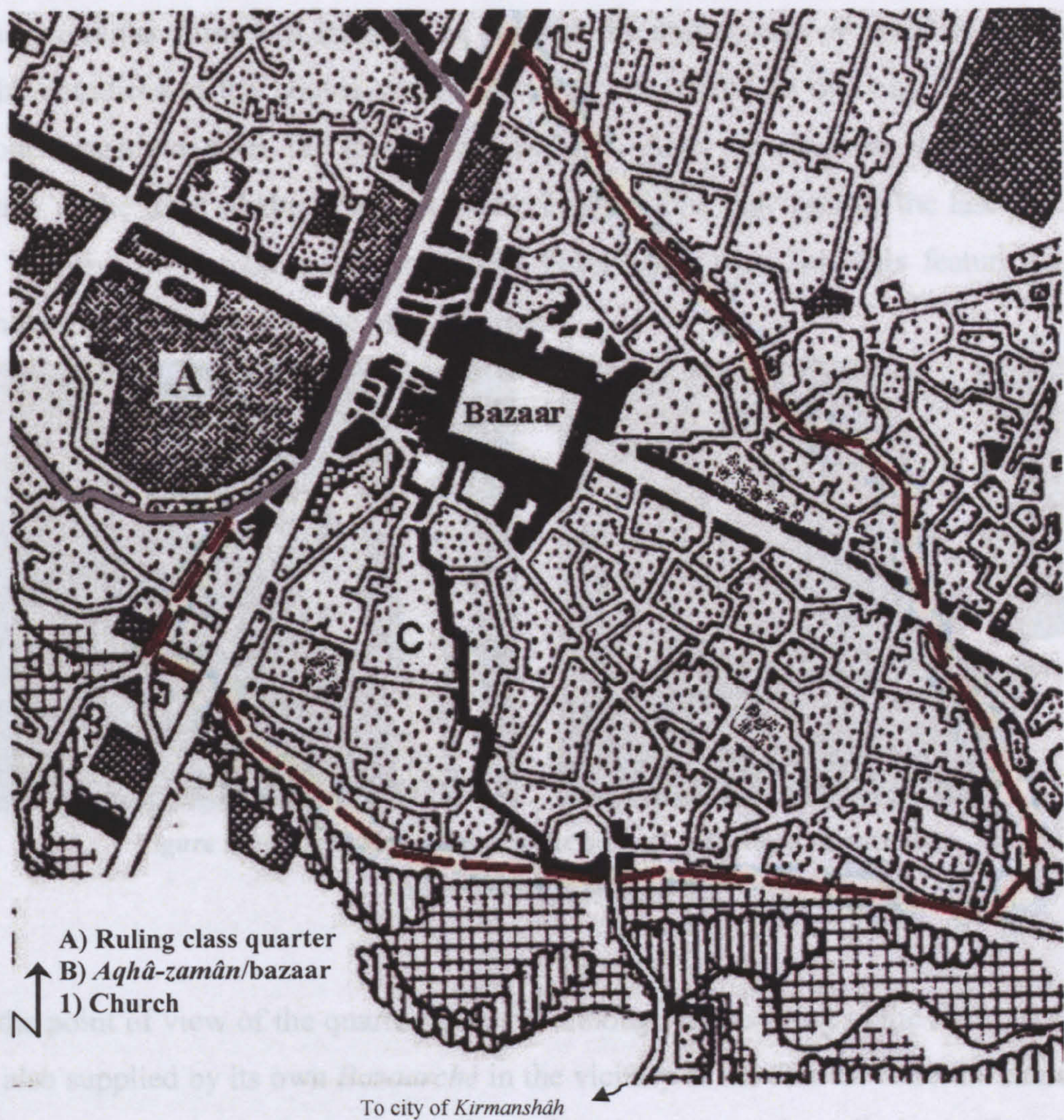


Figure 5. 23. The maze pattern of streets in the quarter of city’s minorities/*Âqhâ-Zamân*, source: Alten 1958

This pattern suggests the notion of defence. The map also shows how the urban element of the bazaar as the focal point of the quarter polarized the streets into a more defensive pattern. The crossed-shaped streets were laid out by French engineer in 1938-39.

The maze form of “the alleyways served to disorient strangers and to hinder the manoeuvrability of plundering horse-men in the confined quarter” (Kheirabadi 1991: 34). In the words of Marufi⁶ (local historian), these narrow and twisted alleys usually limited the flow of hostile tribes to smaller groups, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity to defend themselves. In explaining the defensive pattern of the quarter, it must be emphasised that the

⁶ Interviewed 29.08.03

result of direct observation of the quarter and its indirect examination through the old maps show the minimum use of a cul-de-sac structure. It means that making the pattern of streets of a more circular form was intended to confuse the movements of invaders (figure 5.23). Also the entrances to the houses were kept close the ground so that one had to stoop and bend one's head to enter the house (figure 5.24). Also, openings in the exterior walls, especially at the level of the first floor, were limited. One may ascribe the last point to the notion of privacy. But the results of direct observation were that this feature was more prominent in this quarter than the other quarters.



Figure 5. 24. Defensive feature in the houses' gate way and openings

Source: author August 2003

From the point of view of the quarter's centre, although it was close to the site of the bazaar, it was also supplied by its own *Bazaarché* in the vicinity of the church. Here the church acted as a focal point for other activities such as the *Hammâm* and retail shops. Based on the Russian map (1850 Mehriar 1998), this centre also contained the element of a square in front of the Church. The existence of the Church Square, as it is not seen in other Iranian cities, to some extent recalls its concept in the medieval towns of Europe, especially "the burial ground" (Morris 1994: 76). The square was on the route from the countryside, south of the city. Presumably, it was linked to the caravan roads from the city of *Kimânshâh* because the extension of the road - with some breaks - links to the caravansaries of the bazaar (figure 5.23). This square was called the square of *Kelisâ* or Church Square.

5.3.4.5. The quarter of *Qatârchyân*

The fourth part of the city comprises the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* and the garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* on the south side of the inner-*shâr*/city and was separated by the *Dara-bayân*

River from the other parts (figure 5.16). As explained earlier, this quarter was the place of muleteers who usually transported the agricultural products of the region to other cities including Hammadân, Zanjân, Tehrân, Isfahân, Rasht and to some parts of Iraq Mosul, Sulaimânia, and Baghdad. In returning, they also supplied the demands of the city merchants and the necessary goods for the city and its region. Due to its well-known character and its separation from the rest of city, it contained two active *Bazaarché* and a seat of power (*Wakil's* edifice).

As it was selected to be the case study of the research, it will be analysed in the chapters concerning the main aim and questions of the research. Hence, here we have simply mentioned a number of general points.

5.3.4.6. The quarter of Chahâr-bâq

The four parts mentioned above were for a long period the main structure of the City until in the middle of nineteenth century when a new part was annexed to the city with a peculiar structure due to the features of its site. It was the quarter of *Chahâr-Bâq* which lies to the northeast of the City (figure 5.16). As its name *Chahâr/four-Bâq/garden* suggests, it was on the site of four gardens divided by cross roads of *Bâq-e Mayân*. This structure of the gardens became the basic ground plan for the street pattern of the quarter which created a rectangular form distinguishable from the street pattern of other quarters, especially the neighbouring quarter of Bazaar/*Âqhâ-zamân* (figure 5.25).

From evidence in the local chronicles, the creation of this quarter can be dated to the 19th century when a new *Chahâr-bâq* was created in the period of Amanullâh-khân the great (1799-1820) and was favoured by the *Wâli*, thus, causing the deterioration of the former *Chahâr-bâq* (Vasilyeva 2000; Sharafkandi 2002). This point alongside the natural growth of the City population, especially those who engaged with the functioning of the bazaar due to the City's economic prosperity at that period, led to the occupation of the site and its gradual construction as another quarter. In comparison with other quarters, especially *Jawr-âwâ* and *Qatâr-chyân*, the physical development of the bazaar quarter was limited by natural boundaries comprising the *Dara-bayân* River to the south and southeast and gullies to the north and northeast. Thus, the site of *Bâq-e Mayân*, which had deteriorated, was the nearest site to the quarter to be occupied.



A) Ruling class, B) Jawrâwâ, C) Bazaar, E) Chahâr-bâgh

Figure 5. 25. The grid pattern of streets in the quarter of *Chahâr-bâgh*, source: Alten 1958

This pattern retained from the garden structure of *Bâq-e Mayân* and showing its contrast with other quarters

From the above points and considering the retained rectangular structure of the *Bâq* in the layout of streets pattern, it can be conceived that wealthy people settled there. The convincing evidence is the size of houses which are relatively larger than other quarters except the quarter of the ruling class. Although, some of the accesses were structured by *Bunbast* (cul-de-sac) pattern, this is more a recent structure due to plot divisions between later generations. More importantly, most of the *Bunbasts* contained just two or three small houses.

Due to the general slope of the city site and initial layout of the *Bâq*, the primary streets of the quarter were directed towards the holy *Qibla* in line with direction of the *Jumaa* mosque (figure 5.26), thus, the secondary streets branched off at right angle to the primary streets

providing residential access and this facilitated a logical guideline for house construction in the direction of *Qibla*.



Quarters: A) *Miyan-qala*, B) *Jawrâwâ*, C) *Âqhâ-zaman/bazaar*, D) *Qatâr-chyân*, E) *Chahâr-bâgh*

Figure 5. 26. Correspondence of primary streets directions with the direction of the *Jumaa* Mosque

Source: *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

The element of centrality is not very clear or strong in this quarter due to its uniform structure, the rectangular pattern of streets, and to the fact that it was outside the main structure of the city; the satellite structure of the other quarters close to the inner-*shâr* gave them the possibility of being self-contained and self-centred organisations. Based on the existing structure, it is presumed that the centre was in the congestion of lanes with the quarter of *Âgha-zamân/bazaar* (figure 5.25). It comprises the urban elements of *Hammâm*, mosque and retail shops.

5.4. Public places

After recognising the City's internal division, largely the quarters, we now move on to the public places of the City within the contextualised structure, the main public urban elements which played an important role in the social life of the city.

Regardless of some ambiguities⁷ in defining the domain of public places in Islamic cities, the domain of this generic concept can be recognised “outside the boundaries of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes” (Ardalan 1980b; Madanipour 2003: 112, 113). In the words of Ardalan (1980b: 5), this, in traditional Islamic culture, would include “the public garden, passages, streets, covered streets such as bazaars and *Suqs* and other traditional places of commerce, as well as places of the institutions of the society together with their urban contexts”. In this definition, the public urban element of *Maidân* was disregarded, the element which was recognised as the node and the focal point of socio-political⁸ and economic activities of citizens. For this point, we can look at the notion of Kostof (1992: 127), who believed that there is a well defined sense of public space in Islamic cities. For him the main domain of public spaces can be divided into “streets [covered streets, bazaar], *Mayâdin* (squares), mosques, and cemeteries”.

From one perspective, both notions can be criticized as ignoring the tri-fold organisation of space in Islamic cities which distinguish some spaces at levels between the two realms of public and private domains. In consideration of this point, the other levels of spaces, intermediate between public and private, are examined alongside the discussion of the public and private spaces of the selected quarter. This comprised the semi-public and semi-private spaces within the circulation system of the Quarter.

Generally, through combining points of both notions as mentioned, we can illustrate the domain of public places of the city as follows: *Mayâdin*, religious centres (comprising *Jumaa* mosque, mosques in the quarters, the *Takâyâ* and *Mazars*/shrines and cemeteries), streets, bazaars (both the main covered bazaar and the open ones in the quarters), local institutions

⁷ For example, although in the model of Islamic city, the large courtyard of the Friday mosque forms the centre of the city and actual focus of public gathering, it is only accessible to the Muslim population not other religions because of its special spiritual dimension. Or we can look at the restriction of the public places for the Muslim women because they were recognised as unsafe places for them. “The last idea is the concern of most literature as they mainly emphasised the public spaces relating to the ruling class. In this scope, the women of ruling class had no need to go out, even for the sake of buying because all their affairs were done by other people, especially by their servants. They only participated in particular ceremonies. On the contrary, the women of other classes, especially the servants, had to go out for the sake of work and shopping. Thus, they engaged with the public spaces of the city, especially the *bazaarché* within the quarters. This is what most literature has ignored and conceptualised their views based on the life of the ruling class” (this argument is based on a discussion with Fuad Al-Ansari about public spaces in Islamic cities, 12.01.2004). From this point, “the theory of urban form in traditional Islamic cultures” needs to devote particular effort on this concern. (Hakim 1998)

⁸ ‘The two revolutions that have shaped Iran’s modern history were both performed in public spaces of the *Bahârestân* square in front of the parliament in Tehran’ (Madanipour: 209).

and public gardens. Within this structure, here we only deal with the public places of *Mayâdin*, the bazaar, *Jumaa* mosque and the principal route as the main urban elements of the city. The rest will be analysed alongside the case study within the context of Kurdish habits and traditions.

5.4.1. *Mayâdin* (squares)

Based on the Russian map (1850 cited in Mehriar, Shamil et al. 1998), the city contained three *Maidâns* in the period of the *Qâjâr* dynasty: *Maidân-e wâli* or *Arg* in the quarter of the ruling class and in front of the fortified wall of the *Qalâ*, *Maidân-e Alâf-khân* and *Kelisâ*/Church in the quarter of *Aqhâ-zamân*/bazaar (figure 5.30). This number of *Maidâns* is comparable to the number of *Maidâns* in other Iranian cities during the periods of *Safavid* (1501-1736) and *Qâjâr* (1794-1925) dynasties. For example, the cities of Isfahân and Nishâpur (a city close to the city of Mashahd in the northeast of Iran) each contained four *Maidâns*.

5.4.1.1. *Maidân-e Wâli* (Arg square)

As Sultanzadeh (1986) indicates, most of the historical books concerning the Iranian city examine the formation and evolution of the *Maidân* in relation to the function of the government or court, as places where troops were usually paraded in front of imperial palaces. It means that, the concept of *Maidân* was first bound to the affairs of government and its related ceremonies. Later other socio-economic activities were embedded into the concept of *Maidân*. In the view of Habibi (1996), the element of *Maidân* was contextualised more in the Iranian city from the period of Safavid dynasty onwards to the extent that each human settlement (city or village) was structured in respect of the *Maidân*. He claimed that the *Maidan* was the centre of gravity for governmental, religious and economic activities and in some cases accommodated mixed functions. In this regard he referred to the large formal *Maidân-e Shâh* (now Maidan-e Imam) in Isfahân as the “forecourt to the imperial palace and mosque, open-air market, and polo field” (Kostof 1992: 131).

The first public space of the city can be conceived of as being the open space in front of the fortified wall of the *Qalâ*; this is based on the above points together with what the historical analysis revealed; in particular the act of moving from the mound cities (castellated cities) to the relatively low-lands, and what the main reason for the City foundation implied – the creation of a strong shield against the Ottoman Empire. It was the place of military activities

and execution of sentences, where the ruler paraded their troops for war and official ceremonies. More importantly, the *Ardalân* government was such a powerful province in Iran that it was virtually an independent nation (Lambton 1968), thus, their rulers contextualised the concept of the governmental *Maidân* as a main element in the City structure to create a sense of rivalry with other major Iranian cities. From these points, Kheirabadi (1991: 77) links the concept of the *Arg* square to 'the cities with significant strategic importance in the region where the *Arg* served as citadel for regular practice of ruler' armies'. Sultanzadeh (1983) ascribes it to major Iranian cities due to the existence of a governmental *Arg*/citadel which communicates power. For example, he refers to the city of *Qazvin* which contained the element of *Maidan* in front of the seat of government in the period that the city was the capital of Iran (in the 16th century under the Safavid Tahmasb I). Considering the symbolic function of two walls which separated the seat of power from the commoners, we can also have regard to the notion of Madanipour (2003: 204), who says that "the political significance of public space may have been manipulated in cities where the rulers have kept an often violent distance from the ruled".

As a basic principle of the Iranian city, the element of the *Maidân* was usually formed at the meeting point of main streets or by aggregating the main architectural elements of the city. In line with this principle, the *Maidân-e Wâli* was formed on the principal route leading from the north to the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains at its junction with the *Kuché Derâz* leading towards the *Jumaa* mosque in the west (figure 5.28). This structure (correlation of the *Maidân* as a centre and streets as an axis) reminds us of the idea of Norberg-Schulz (1980: 58), who says that:

"When an opening is introduced in a centralized enclosure, an axis is created which implies longitudinal movement".

Apart from this similarity, its spatial structure within the City context manifests an important contrast which distinguishes it from the concept of *Maidân* in other Iranian cities in the periods of *Safavid* and *Qâjâr* dynasties. There the element of *Maidân-e Arg*/citadel was connected with the main buildings of the city (bazaar and *Jumaa* mosque), such as *Sabzeh-maidân* in Tehran and *Maidân-e Imam* in Isfahân or *Maidân Ganj-Ali-khân* in Kirmân. However, here the element of the *Maidan* was created closely in line with the function of the *Qalâ* so that the *Jumaa* mosque and the main bazaar were set completely away from the *Maidân*. The convincing evidence of such a gesture in the structure of the city can be found in the life of the *Jumaa* mosque. Although, in the period of *Amanullâh-Khân* the great (1799-

1825) the previous *Jumaa* mosque, on the slope of the *Qalâ*'s hill towards the east, was destroyed, the new one was not erected in vicinity of the *Maidân*. It was, rather, detached from the site of the *Qalâ* and the main bazaar for some political and religious purposes. This will be discussed later. These notions define the concept of *Maidan-e Wâli* as a place solely to display power not having any other socio-economical meanings as it would in the context of other Iranian cities.

In addition to the concept underlying the existence of the *Maidân-e Wâli*, it was also the main centre of the ruling class quarter because it was surrounded by the elements of the Peer-Omar shrine and its mosque, *Bazarchih*, *Naghâreh-khâneh*⁹ (the place where the drums were beaten at sunset). From those points, it can be recognised as the main meeting place of elites (Figure 5.27). Furthermore, as explained, this square was beyond the north gate of the inner-city – the gate of *Sartapula* – where the main street of the City (the principal route) channelled the flow of troops and other official welcoming ceremonies to the City walls. From this point and because most Shiite people settled close to this gate in the vicinity of *Hajara-khâtwn*'s shrine and *Amjad*'s house (the only place useable by Shiite people as *Husayniyyih*) and some in the quarter of the ruling class, it is likely that the procession to commemorate *Muharam* moved through this street to the city wall and then to the *Maidan-e Wâli* where the shrine of *Peer-Omar* abutted the square. They usually gathered in *Amjad*'s house and from there their ceremonies began to move towards the places mentioned. Those two spatial points of aggregation (*Hajara-khâtwn* and *Peer-Omar*) (Figure 5.28) and considering that some of the *Ardalân* officials adhered to Shiite ideology due to their original background from other Iranian cities and even the last *Wâli* converted to the Shiite sect, it can be claimed that the place of the *Maidân* was also used for this special religious ceremony during the month of *Muharam*.

⁹ As Tavassoli and Bonyadi (1992: 25) indicate, the function of *Naghâreh-khâneh* was due to announcing the time of sunrise and sunset.

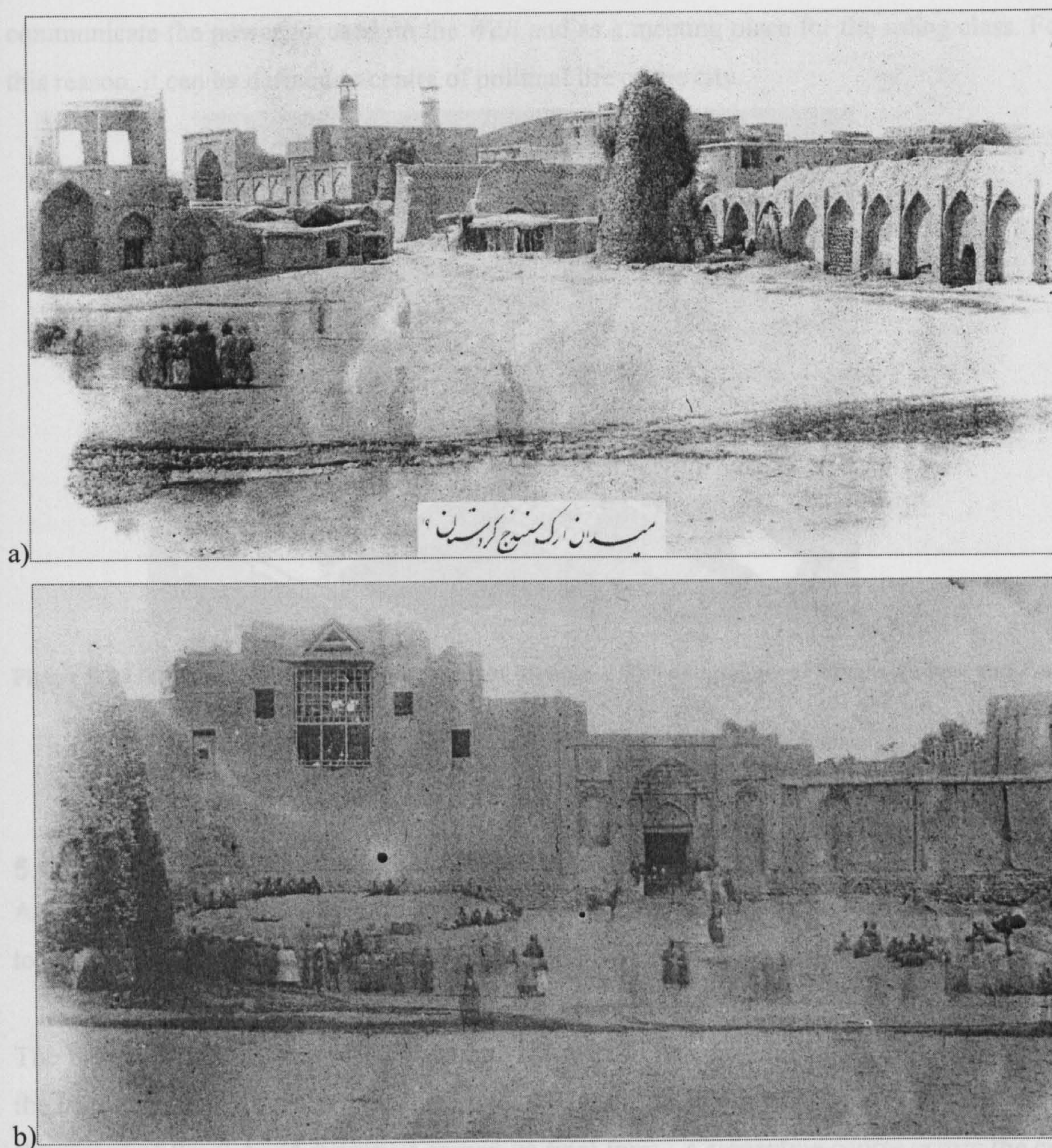


Figure 5. 27. Two old photographs of the *Maidân-e Wâli/Arg*, source: *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

These photos were taken in late period of *Nâser o-Din Shâh*, 1848-1896. In the a) the *Jumaa* mosque is clearly seen to have been detached from the structure of the *Maidân*. b) shows the entrance gateway to the court of the *Wâli* facing the *Maidân* and people's assembly in front of the gate

In comparison with the functions of other squares in Iranian cities – the three *Maidâns* mentioned earlier in the cities of Isfahân, Tehran and Kirmân – and notwithstanding the commemoration of *Muhram*, it can be conceived that the *Maidân-e Wâli* was not a public place for all the people. But as it was in the quarter of the ruling class with a fortified wall, it can be recognised as a semi-public place in the context of the city because it functioned to

communicate the power focused on the *Wâli* and as a meeting place for the ruling class. For this reason, it can be defined as centre of political life of the city.

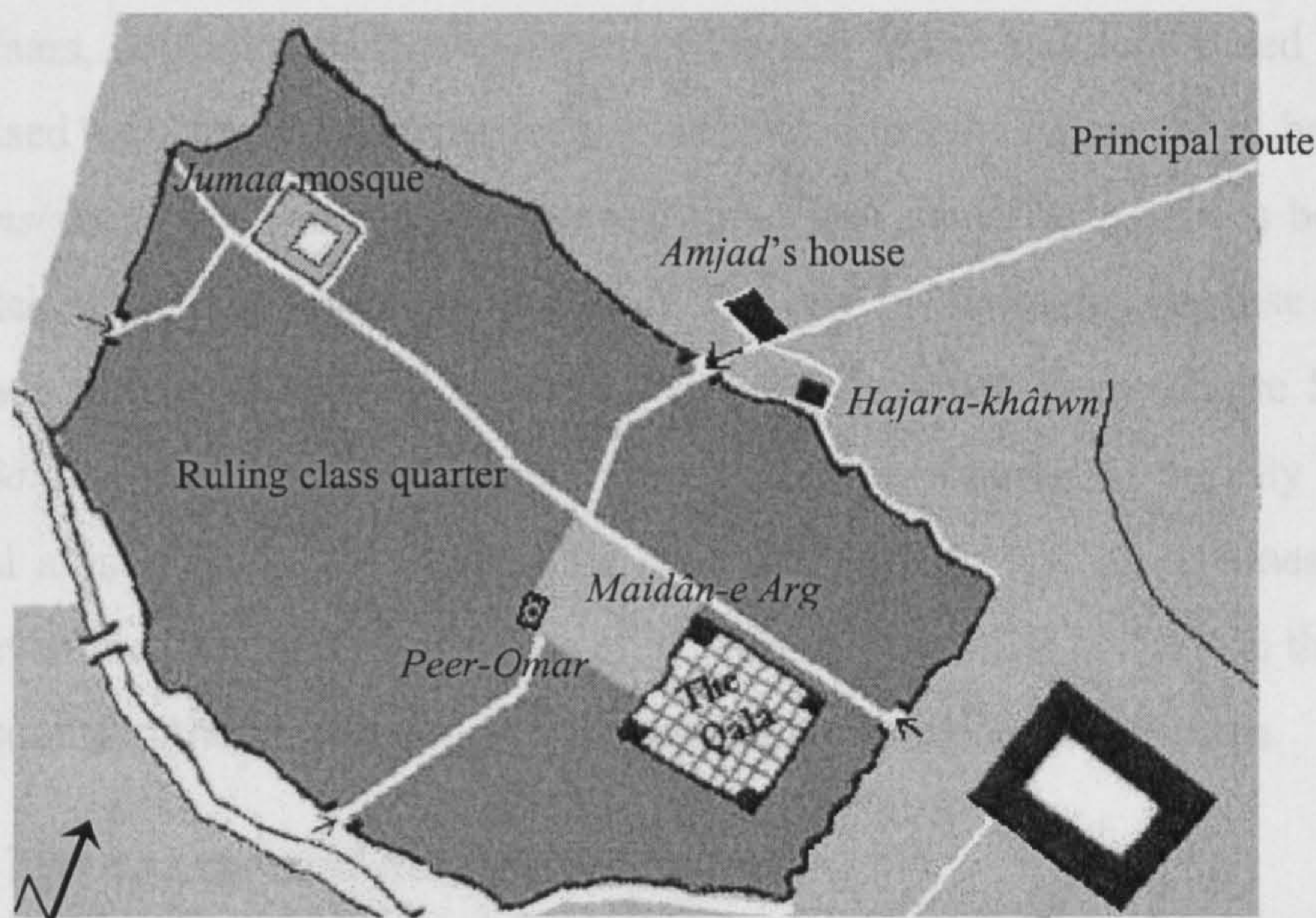


Figure 5. 28. The spatial relationship between the *Maidân-e Wâli* and shrines of *Hâjara-Khâtwn* and *Peer-Omar*

This was the main route of processions to commemorate *Muharam*.

5.4.1.2. Bazaar and *Maidân-e Alâf-khân*

As the second *Maidân* was formed by the square structure of the bazaar, it is examined together with the discussion concerning the public urban element of the bazaar.

The bazaar can be recognised as a common feature of public space in different cultures. In the Iranian context, it evolved from the period of *Sassanid* dynasty (224-651) onwards and in the period of the *Safavid* dynasty it gained its final form - a serpentine course across the city as a main spine connecting prominent architectural elements of the city and forming the city quarters - due to expansion of foreign relationships and secure trade routes (Sultanzadeh 2001). Its manifestation in the city of Isfahân was recognised as “one of the great spatial sequences of the world” (Browne 1976: 260).

Most literatures recognise the image of bazaar, in the traditional Islamic city, as a linear form leading from the city gates towards the city centre where the *Jumaa* mosque is located as a prominent feature in the vicinity of the main *Maidân*. In contrast, the city of *Sanandaj* was not so structured. It contained an unusual organisation which is a rare feature in the Iranian city and even in the Islamic world. For example, in the work of Morris (1994: 390), three

basic configurations are defined for the *Suq*/Bazaar in the Islamic city, however, none of them match the form of the bazaar in *Sanandaj*. Sultanzadeh (2001), who focused on the Iranian bazaars, conceptualised two forms of bazaar; linear and centralised bazaars¹⁰. Even the centralised bazaars, which was further defined into two types; those bazaars that have their *Dukâns*/shops open to the *Maidân* and those that contained porticos before the shops, do not match the structure of the bazaar in the city of *Sanandaj* because the shops were arranged face to face along the pedestrian walkway between them (figure 5.31, 5.34). The bazaar of *Sanandaj* was built in a solid rectangular form outside of the city walls so that its longitudinal axis is in an east-westwards direction without any direct lines to the caravan roads and even the principal route of the city. More importantly, nor is it in the vicinity of the *Jumaa* mosque and the *Arg* square neither does its continuation touch them.

5.4.1.2.1. The bazaar and mosque

Although, the bazaar was detached from the *Jumaa* mosque by political considerations, as was discussed in historical background of the city, there were other mosques close to each gate of the bazaar (figure 5.30). This can be recognised as one of the main principles of the Islamic city as the site of bazaar/*Suq* was structured with the mosques in accessible situations in order to allow for the daily prayers of the Muslims.

O you who believe! When the call is made for prayer on Friday, then hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave off trading; that is better for you, if you know (Qur'an 49:10 quoted in Memarian and Brown 2003: 191).

Here, the mosques close to the gates of the bazaar act as tranquil islands against the noisy barter of the "tunnel-like bazaar" to withdraw from the streams of the public life to contemplate for a moment (Browne 1976; Bianca 2000) (figure 5.29). Considering the function of the bazaar, as wholesale centre for widespread areas, these mosques also served as the places of rest and shelter for travellers (Alten 1958).

¹⁰ His notion concerning two types of Iranian bazaars can be criticised because what he conceptualised as the centralised bazaar does not match any form of the bazaar in the Iranian context. All mentioned example are not independent from the main bazaar and they are a part of the main bazaar which was juxtaposed with the linear bazaar at a specific period in their history.

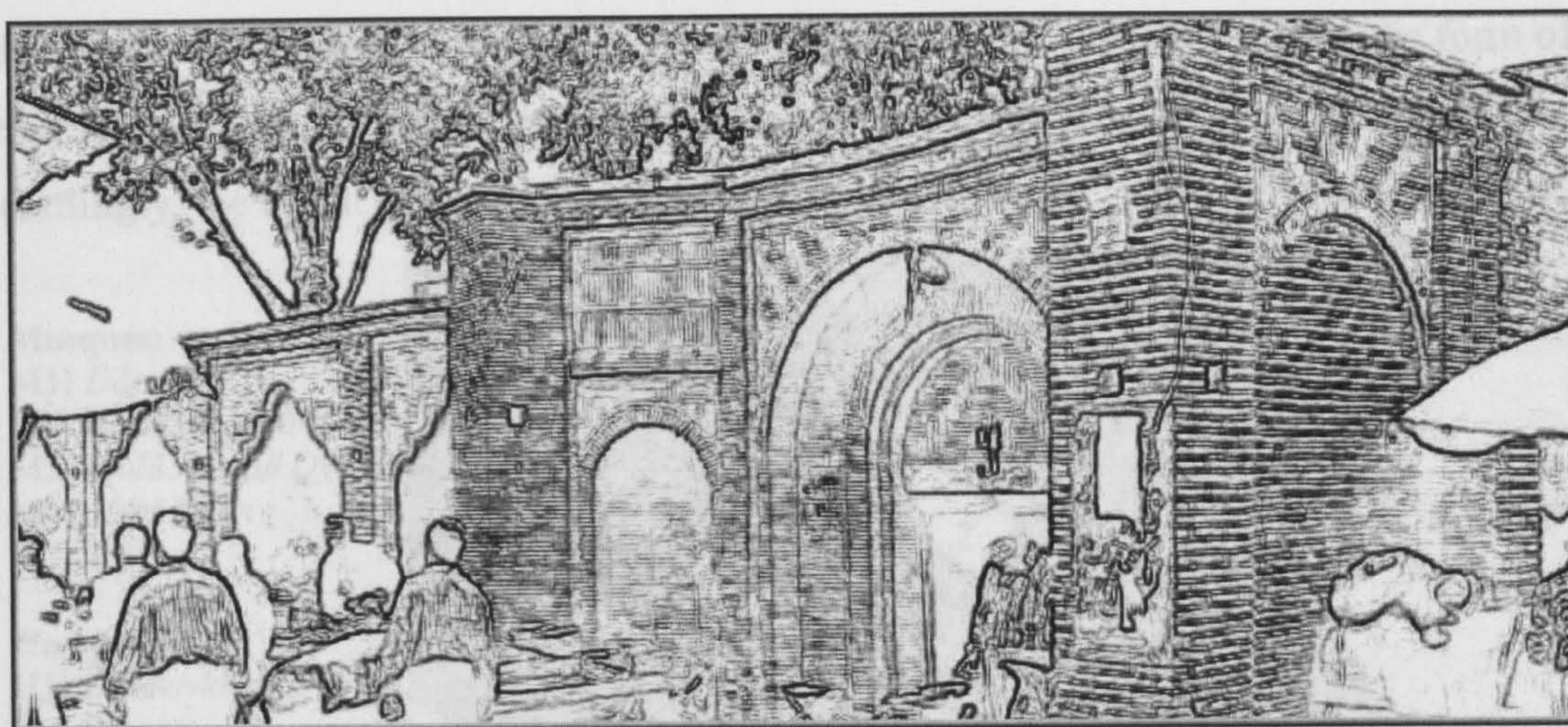


Figure 5. 29. The entrance gate to the mosque of *Rashid Qalâ-Baegi*, source: sketched by Mr. Mawlanaei
It is just behind the southeast gate of the bazaar as a place of relaxation and contemplation

5.4.1.2.2. *The Bazaar and Hammâm*

Accompanying the mosques and their function in relation to the bazaar and long distance travellers, other buildings were contextualised in the site of the bazaar. These are called *Hammâms* (public bath-houses) a well-known element of the Islamic city, a place for ritual cleansing prior to going to the mosque according to Islamic principles (Najimi 1988). This is a complementary urban element responding to the function of the bazaar and the mosques.

From the above points and because the bazaar had to meet the needs of long-distance travellers, its site contained four *Hammâms* close to the mosques (figure 5.30). In comparison with other Iran cities, this number of *Hammâms* associated with the function of the bazaar can be recognised as a striking feature, peculiar to the city of *Sanandaj*. For example, in the whole of Isfahân's bazaar, a distance of over a mile, there are only two *Hammâms*; one close to the Maidân-e Imam, and the other in the vicinity of the *Masjid-e Jumaa*¹¹. Or, as Kheirabadi (1991: 54) explains, the city of *Sabzivâr* (in the northeast of Iran near to the city of *Mashad*) also only contained two *Hammâms* in whole course of its linear bazaar.

More importantly, due to the linear form of the bazaar in other Iranian cities and, thus, its function as the backbone of the city in structuring the quarters, the buildings of the mosques

¹¹ For more information, refer to the elements of the *Isfahân*'s bazaar in the work of *Ardalan* and *Bakhtiar* (1973: 98-99).

and the *Hammâms* could also meet the needs of the quarters. On the contrary, the form of the bazaar in *Sanandaj*, as a great rectangle within the core of city, did not possess this function. Accordingly, the urban elements mentioned were specific to the function of the bazaar.

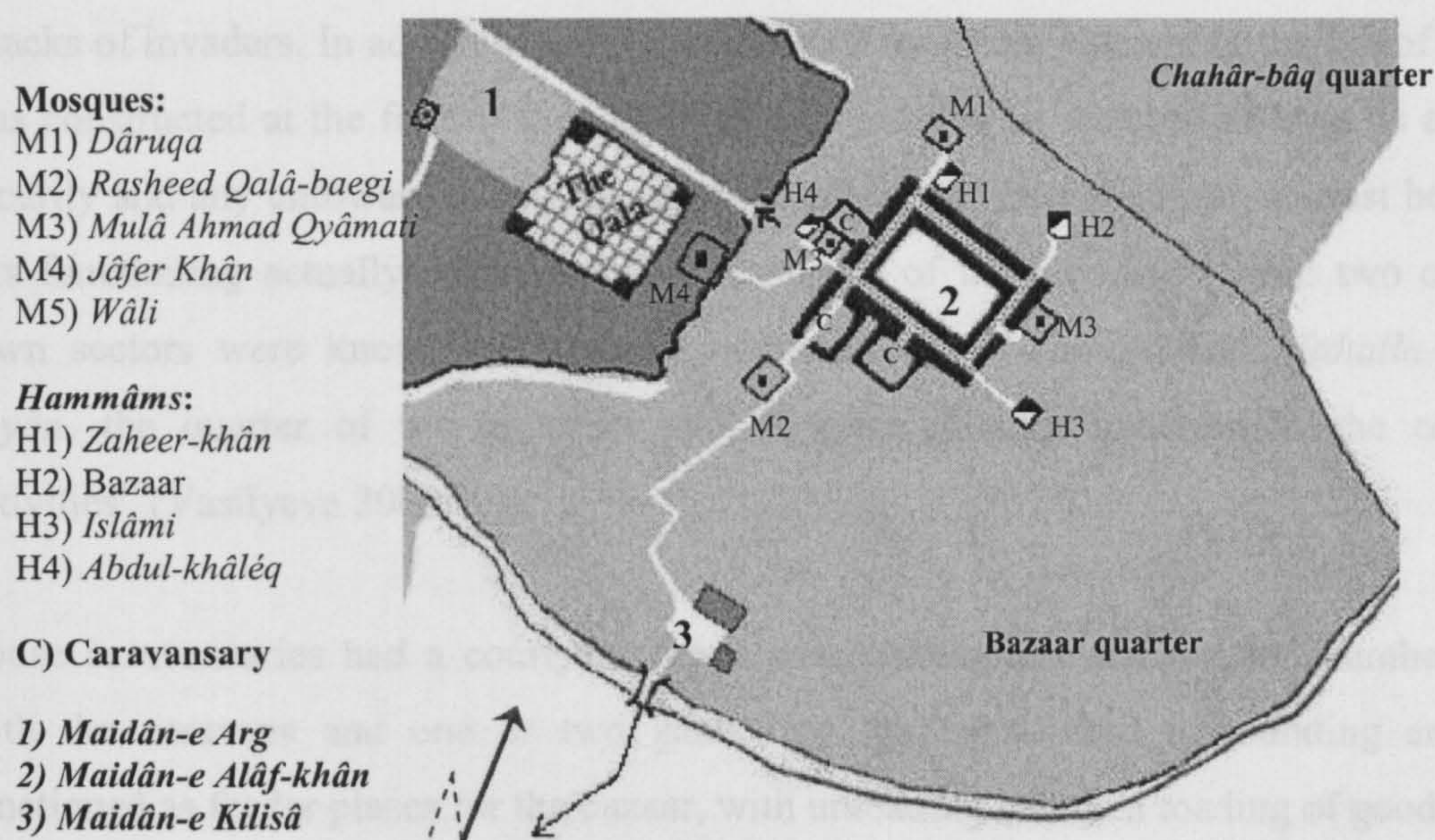


Figure 5. 30. The spatial relationship of the bazaar and related elements; Mosques and *Hammâms*

5.4.1.2.3 The Bazaar and caravansary

The next element adjacent to the site of the bazaar is the caravansary. It is a common feature of the traditional Iranian bazaar, especially in capital cities of each region or the cities which had potential for trade activities.

As explained, each quarter of the City was provided with a *Bazarché*/small market giving a self-contained structure to the quarters. Maintaining this structure led the bazaar to function as a wholesale market in respect of the needs of those *Bazarchaha* in the centre of the quarters and the other bazaars in the region (Figure 5.31). Hence, three caravansaries (figure 5.30) were attached to the main bazaar to facilitate the export and import trade activities. More importantly, they were constructed on the north and west sides of the bazaar opposite the course of the principal route. This confirmed our claim that the bazaar was not supplied by the principal route. Furthermore, this also meant that most of the caravans were directed across two bridges over the *Dara-bayân* River; one alongside the course of the city walls within view of the *Qalâ*, and the second through the square in front of the church into the tortuous lines of the streets linking to the caravansaries. Those points also make clear that the bazaar was not supplied by direct lines of caravan roads from the countryside. The reason for

such a structure has already been explained in the section concerning the quarter of *âghâ-zamân/bazaar*. As stated, due to the needs of defence and being outside of the city walls, this quarter's streets were woven in such a manner as to protect the area of the bazaar from the attacks of invaders. In addition, as it was an important urban element in the life of the city, it was constructed at the foot of the *Qala*'s hill in order to be watched over in its entirety for security and any untoward events. In line with important role of bazaar, it must be said that, "its functioning actually incorporated at least half of the city population: two of the four town sectors were known as *Mahalla-ye Bazaar (Âghâ-Zamân)* and *Mahalla-ye Qatâr-chyân*, the quarter of the transport people, were directly involved in the commercial activities" (Vasilyeva 2000: 10).

Those caravansaries had a courtyard (open spaces) structure flanked by chambers dealing with the caravans and one or two gates into the bazaar and surrounding areas. They functioned as feeder places for the bazaar, with unloading and then loading of goods.

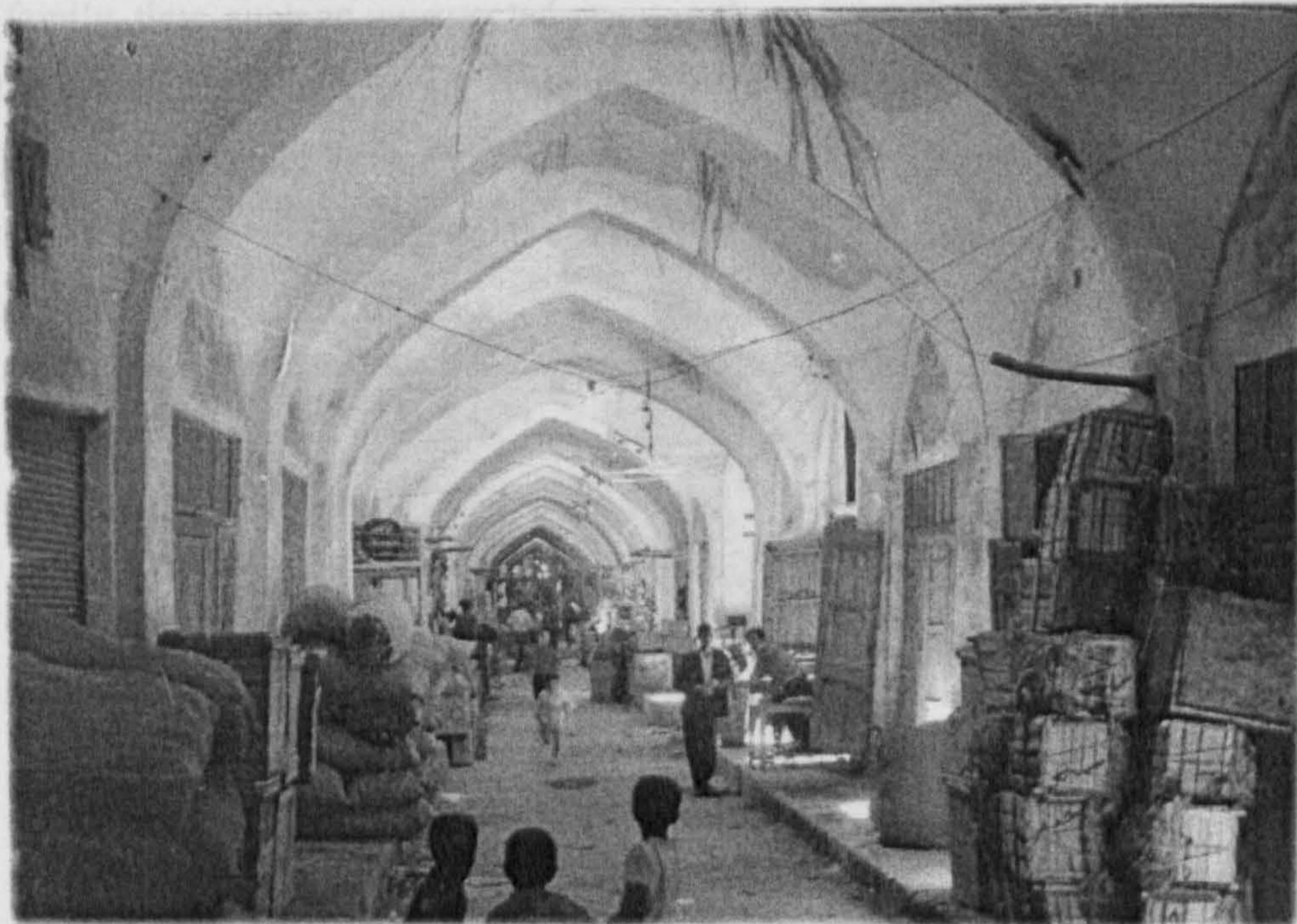


Figure 5. 31. Wholesale function of the main bazaar, source: From the collection of Mr. Gazarani, the date of the photograph is unknown

This function was in respect of the needs of those *Bazarchaha* in the centre of the quarters and the other bazaars in the region

From the point of the composition of the bazaar and caravansaries, as is clear from the aerial photo of the city (dated 1957), (figure 5.32) only the caravansary located in the middle along

the latitudinal axis is in harmony with the rectangular form of the bazaar; the rest are not. It means that, although, the bazaar possessed a high level of order within the compact form of the settlements and the maze pattern of the streets, the attached caravansaries were not structured to strengthen this order. They were erected in one corner of the bazaar, thus, the point of design which might have lead to symmetrical order was blurred (figure 5.32). The reason for such lack of order can be found in the context of the City's history, especially the political change within the *Ardalâns*' reign. The convincing evidence for this claim is in the period of *Shâh Sultân Hosein-e Safavid* (1694-1722). In this period, in the year of 1702, there was a break in the continuity of the *Ardelâns*' government so that a person from outside of the *Ardalân*'s family was appointed as the *Wâli* of *Sanandaj*. 'The new *Wâli*, during six years of his government, built a caravansary close to the old bazaar by the sentence of *Shâh Sultân Hosein*' (Sharafkandi 2002: 104). It contained sixty chambers in two levels. This means that a break in the government of *Ardalâns*' family influenced the built form of the bazaar. The point is that the building of the City had always been under the control of the *Ardalân* family, thus, such an unexpected event in the political life of the city presumably led to disorder in the structure of bazaar. This was again seen in the history of the City for when the family was completely excluded from the government of *Sanandaj* in 1868 the city fell into new era of unexpected changes and destruction leading to loss of many splendid features of its character.

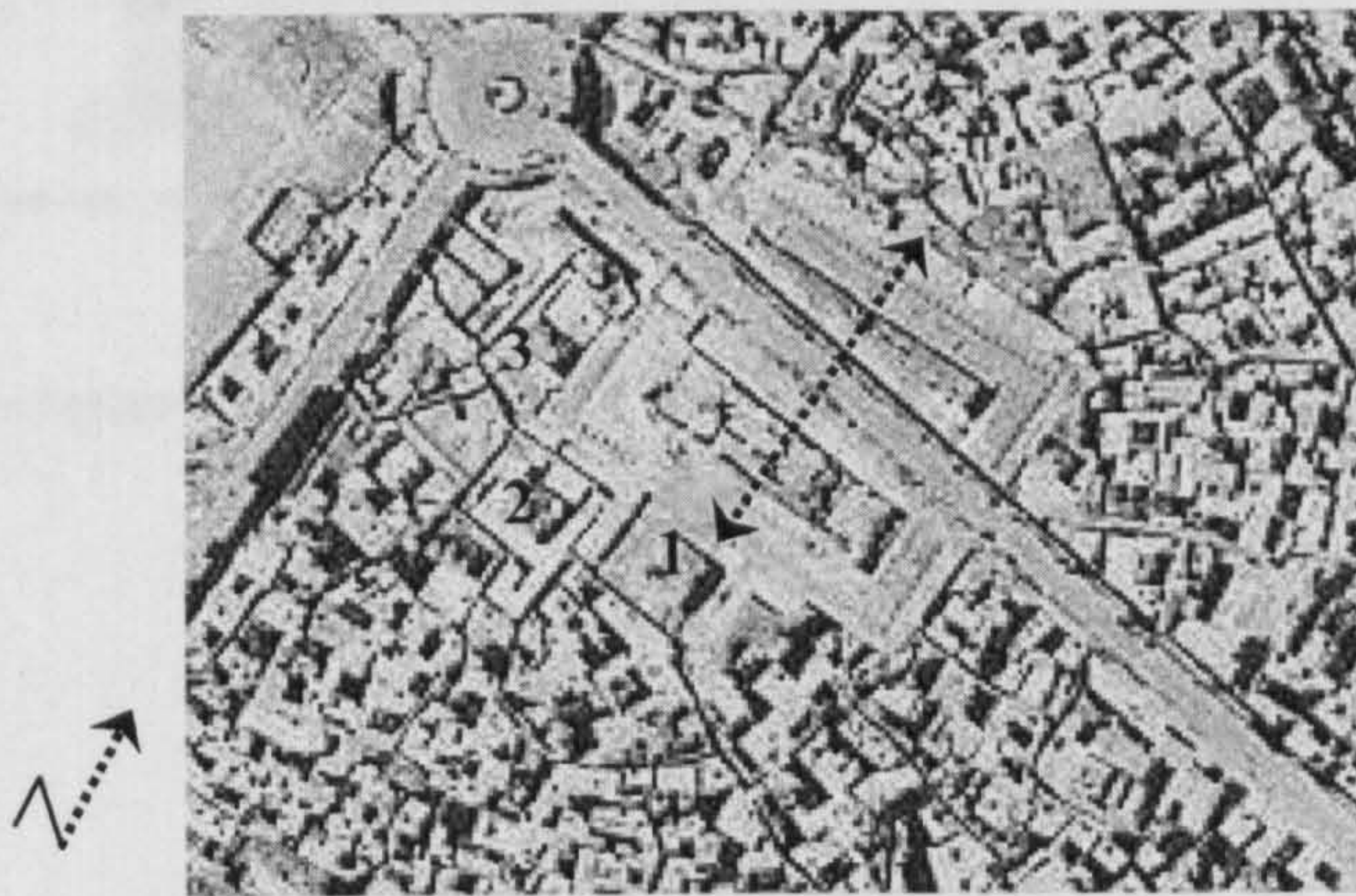


Figure 5. 32. The location of the caravansaries in the site of the bazaar

Source: *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

5.4.1.2.4. Physical features of the bazaar and Maidân-e Alâf-khân

The origin of the rectangular form of the bazaar and its adaptation to the compact form of the settlements and their maze pattern of streets can be traced backed to the new concepts of city design in the period of *Safavid* dynasty. As (Habibi 1996): 95) indicated, in that period (*Shâh*

Abbâs, 1587 – 1629), ‘two patterns of organic and rational were [juxtaposed] in order to project a new concept in design principles of the city’. This was recognised as a concept of binarism (duality) which enhanced the richness of Iranian urban architecture (Oliver 1983). The physical manifestation of this idea can be viewed in the spatial crystallization of the *Maidân-e Imam* in Isfahân and *Maidân-e Ganj-Ali-khân* in Kirmân. It can, thus, be claimed that the structure of the bazaar and its interior *Maidân* derived from these two *Maidâns*. It is more comparable especially with the *Maidân-e Ganj-Ali-Khân* because of its size, the configuration of the bazaar and *Maidân*, and its location in relation to the *Maidân-e Arg* (figure 5.33). The main difference relates to the continuation of the bazaar towards the *Maidân-e Arg*. This movement was not maintained in the city of *Sanandaj* because the wall of the inner-*shâr*/city and the topographical conditions of the city setting limited and contextualised the bazaar in its fixed structure comprising four lines which formed or embraced the *Maidân-e Alâf-khân* as the focal point of the socio-economic life of the city – within a site 92m long and 70m wide.

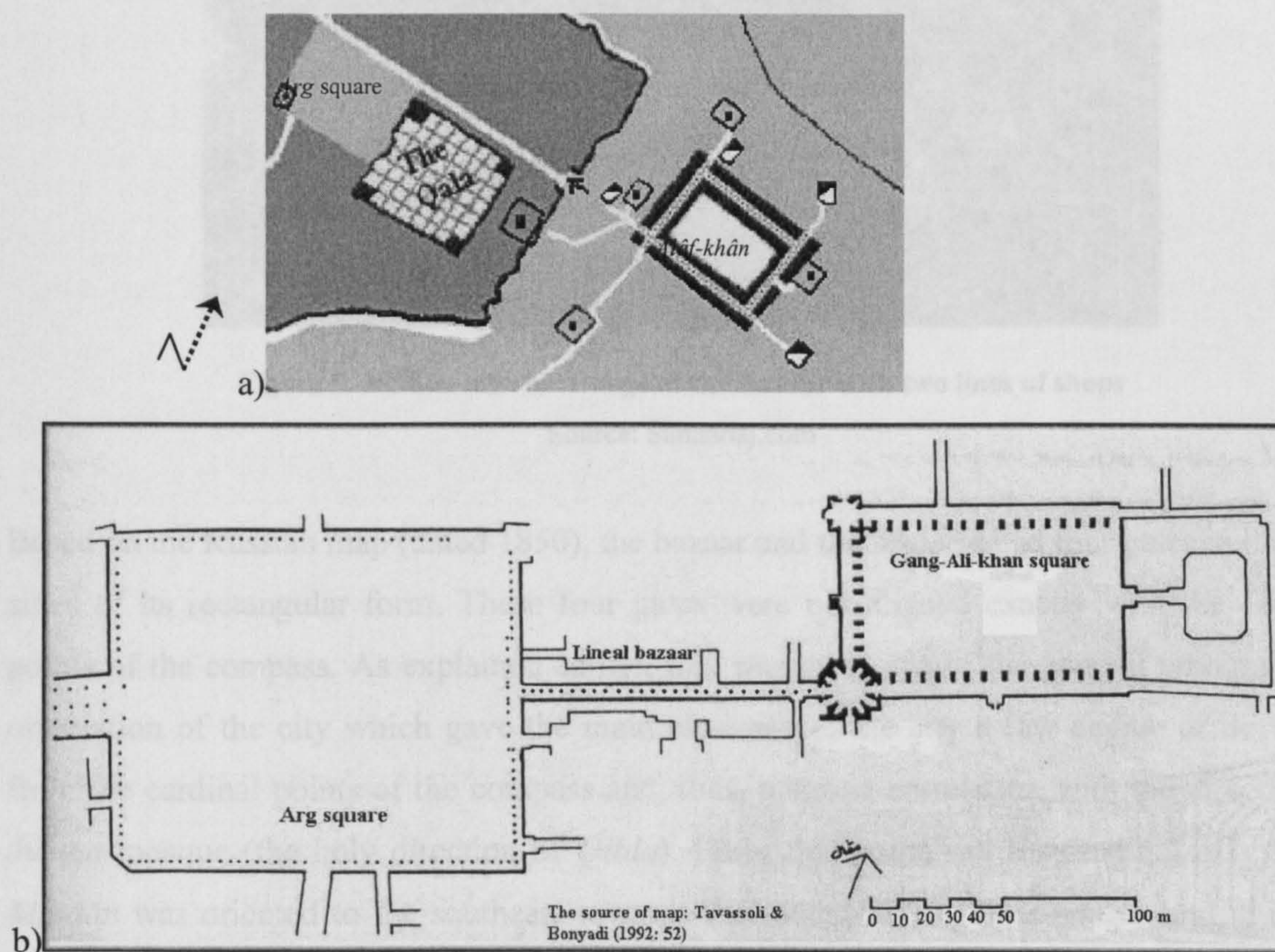


Figure 5. 33. A comparison of the *Alâf-khân* and *Arg* squares in *Sanandaj* (a) with the *Gang-Ali-khân* and *Arg* in *Kirmân* (b)

Source: Tavassoli and Bonyadi 1991: 52

The rectangular form of the bazaar gave a rigid structure to the shops (*Dukâns*) on four sides with a face to face configuration along the pedestrian walkway between (figure 5.34). Although, the total physical order of shops, especially the vaulted brickwork structure of ceiling reminds visitors of a kind of imitation of the patterns from the concept of bazaar in other Iranian cities in the hot-arid zone, it was adapted to the climate conditions of the region. The point of adaptation is clear from the roof of bazaar. Contrary to the inside image of the vaulted brickwork ceiling, its external image shows as small domes due to the thickness of the roof so as to insulate the inside from the harsh weather of winter.



Figure 5. 34. The interior Image of the Bazaar with two lines of shops

Source: Sanandaj.com

Based on the Russian map (dated 1850), the bazaar and the *Maidân* had four gates in the four sides of its rectangular form. These four gates were not aligned exactly with the cardinal points of the compass. As explained earlier, this was more due to the general topographical orientation of the city which gave the main elements of the city a few degree of deviation from the cardinal points of the compass and, thus, a strong correlation with the direction of *Jumaa* mosque (the holy direction of *Qibla*). From this point, the longitudinal axis of the *Maidân* was oriented to the southeast towards the sacred hill of *Toos-nauzar* and, thus, its latitudinal axis was adapted to the *Qibla* direction. These points can be exactly surveyed in the orientation of the *Jumaa* mosque (figure 5.35). More importantly, since the bazaar is older than the *Jumaa* mosque this means that it may be presumed apart from the role of topographical features, the sacred directions were respected in the creation of the bazaar and

the *Maidân* as it is not fair to ascribe such order to an accident. This point needs more careful investigation mainly through archaeological studies which is beyond the scope of this study.

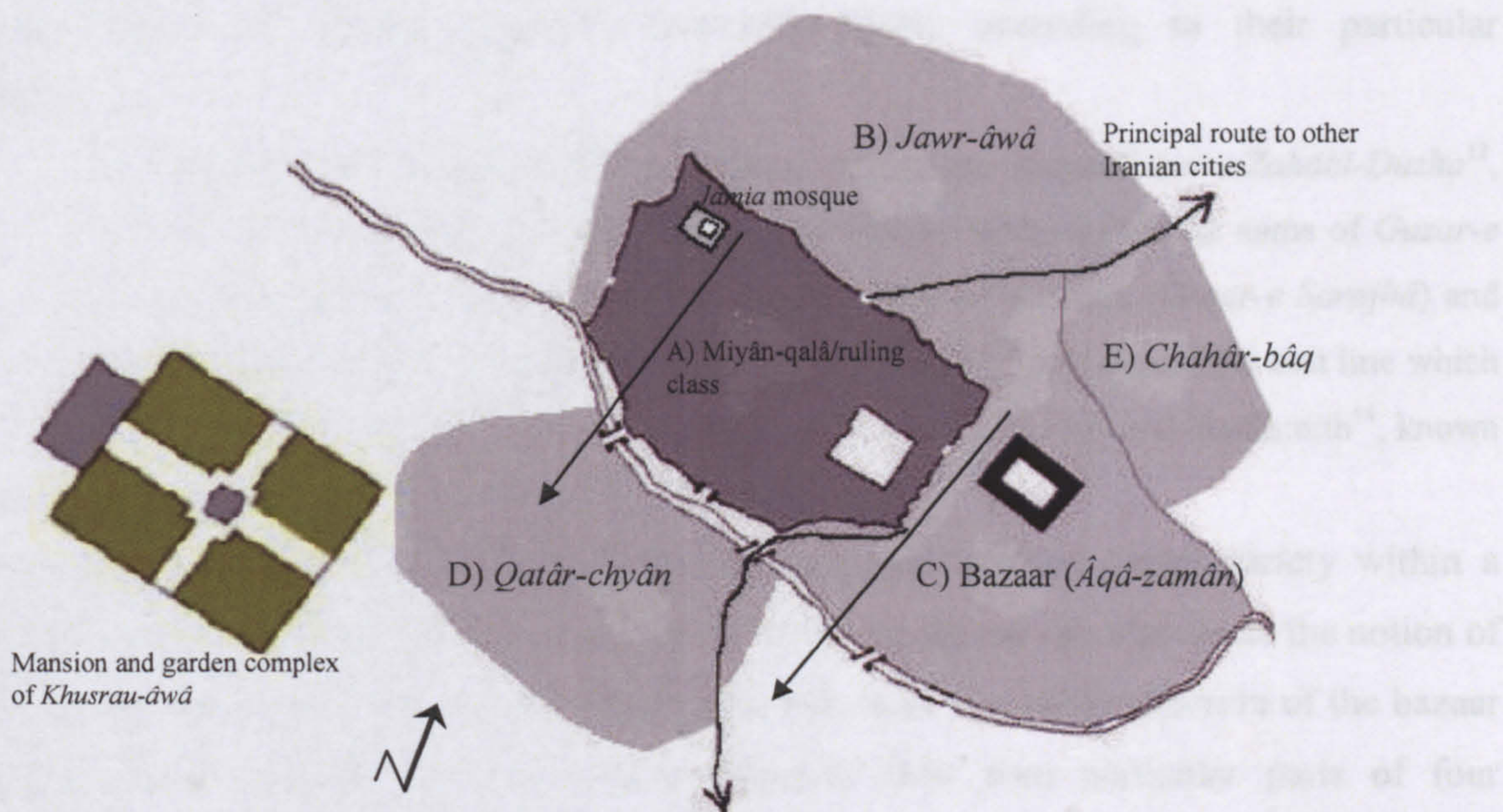


Figure 5. 35. Correlation between the latitudinal direction of the Bazaar complex and the *Jumaa* mosque

5.4.1.2.5. Function of the bazaar

From the point of view of function, as discussed, the bazaar acted as a centre for wholesale activities in connection with the caravans. As Ayazi (1992) indicates, the products of the region including gall-nuts, gum-tragacanth, some medicinal herbs, and agricultural products (mostly from the west and south), were transferred to the other Iranian cities and some to the cities of *Sulaimânia*, *Mosul*, *Baghdad* in Iraq by the muleteers of *Qatâr-chyân* quarter. In returning, they also supplied the orders of merchants. In the words of Vasilyeva (2000), the most demanded and popular product from Kurdistan was butter. As *Tazkirat al-muluk* (quoted in Vasilyeva 2000: 10) indicates, the *Ardalân* rulers sent the butter to the *Safavid* court as a compulsory annual gift – the best of what was grown and produced in Kurdistan.

Accompanying the foreign trade, similar to other Iranian cities, there was a profession called *Sarrafs* – money changers. They usually undertook the most complicated banking operations in order to ease the affairs of trade. Convincing evidence is to be found in Rich (1836: 209), who visited the city in 1820. He mentioned a “banker” whose daughter became wife of *Amanullâh-khân* the great, and in Ayazi (1992: 493, 494) describing the role of one Kalimi (Jewish) as a banker in the Caravansary of *Wâli*. The foreign trade was mostly carried out in the chambers of the caravansaries.

Most of the bazaar was given over to the activities of the crafts. Ayazi (1992), who wrote of his lifetime of memories of *Sanandaj*, said the crafts usually occupied four lines of the bazaar, known as *Chahâr Guzar-e Amanullâh-Khâni*, according to their particular professions:

“the south line was occupied by the shoemakers, which was named *Guzar-e Zahâbi-Duzha*¹², the west line was allocated to haberdashery and grocery trades under the name of *Guzar-e Kharazi*, the north line was divided between two crafts of saddlers (*Guzar-e Sarajhâ*) and other shoe-makers under the name of *Guzar-e Uruci-Duzhâ*¹³, and finally the east line which was again occupied by two crafts of goldsmith (*Guzar-e Zargarhâ*) and blacksmith¹⁴, known as *Guzar-e Chelangrhâ*” (Ayazi 1992): 522-535).

The resulting physical arrangements were functional and created visual variety within a simple, unified organisational framework. From these words, we can also sense the notion of hierarchical order in the crafts’ and trades’ distributions in the whole structure of the bazaar and that people of the same profession occupied their own particular parts of four *râstih*/lines.

The hierarchical order is highlighted, if one considers the west side of the bazaar which was occupied by the haberdashery and grocery trades linked to three mosques through two *Bazarché* in the west and north. These *Bazarchaha* contained small grocery shops because of proximity to the mosques (figure 5.36). This means that, the noisy crafts were kept further from the mosques and more important from the seat of power in the west. Although, this is broadly consistent with other Iranian cities, shops selling candles and “*Muhrs* (small tablets made of clay from sacred cities”) were not sited close to the mosques as shops selling those goods are specific to the Shiite tradition (Kheirabadi 1991: 65). This point is relevant to the religious background of the City’s inhabitants as the majority adhere to the *Shâfi’i* school of law, one of the four established schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence. In contrast to Shiite Islam, the Sunni Islamic tradition has no strong attitude of respect for the Imams and their relatives as continuations of the line of the Prophet Mohammad, thus, their *Mazârs*/shrines, where the people usually light candles to represent their *Nazr*/vow, were not evident in the

¹² As Ayazi (1992: 523) explained, “Zahabi-Duzha made special shoes of thick leather usable for inhabitants of the rural areas, especially nomadic people and herdsman”.

¹³ This was another craft which made the shoes usable for everybody.

¹⁴ I did not find any exact translation of Chelangr in the Persian dictionary. Ayazi (1992) stated that this craft did work similar to the work of blacksmiths but on a smaller scale. They usually made a variety of knives, tools for carpet weaving, etc.

city. Therefore, that type of shop and even the Iranian urban element of *Hussayniyyah* are absent from the context of the bazaar and the city.

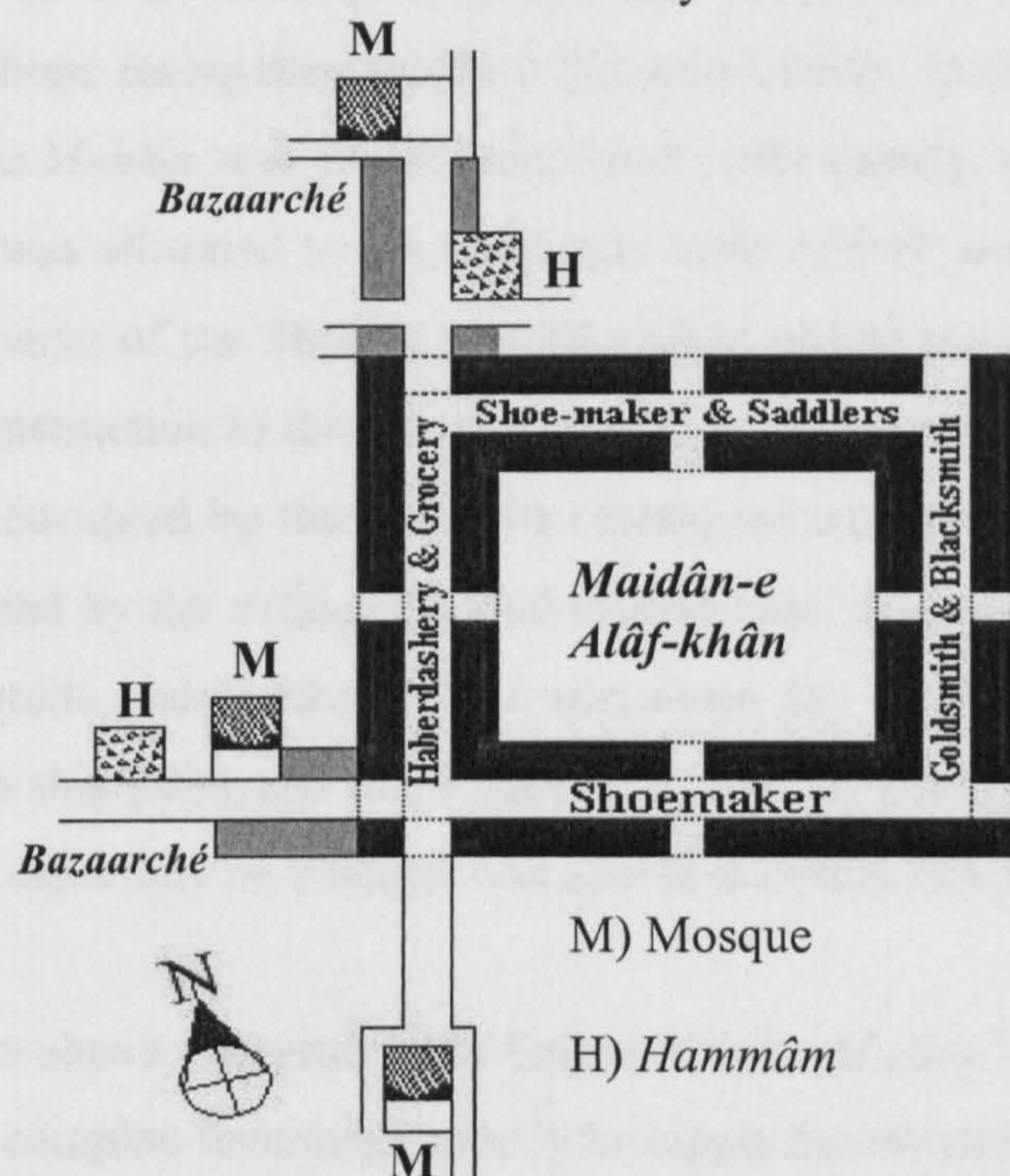


Figure 5. 36. Spatial distribution of the crafts within the four lines of the bazaar

In the case of the *Maidân*'s function; there are some ambiguities because none of the historical books had any information. The views of the interviewees were similar to the words of Ayazi (1992). The explanations he offers also do not comprise an exact function for the *Maidân*, especially before the construction of the main crossroads of the city in 1938-39. After the crossroads were laid out, the bazaar and *Maidân* were divided into two separated parts alongside the longitudinal axis. As a result of this, and due to a newly imposed urban element called *Khyabân*, the remaining spaces of the *Maidân* on both sides of *Enghelâb* Street (formerly *Cyrus* Street) were occupied by numerous small shops. Thus, this to some extent blurred the exact physical sense of the *Maidân*. Regardless of this, through comparing the results of direct observation of the site, with the explanations of Ayazi (1992), and information from the Russian map of 1850, and by cross-referencing to the function and the structure of similar *Maidâns* in other cities, especially *Maidân-e* Imam in Isfahân and *Maidân-e* Gang-Ali-khân in Kirmân, it is possible to recognise the structure and function of the *Maidân*.

From the facades of the existing shops, it can be recognised that the perimeter of the *Maidân* was structured by shops backing onto the shops of the main bazaar. This to some extent is similar to the shops facing the *Maidân-e Imam* in Isfahân. In the words of Ayazi (1992), the north side of the *Maidân* was occupied by some crafts namely coppersmiths and blacksmiths, the south part was allocated to the wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables, and the craft of dyers. As the name of the *Maidân* was *Alaf-khân* and as the old map did not indicate any buildings or construction in the *Maidân*, it can be understood that, before the crossroads, its perimeter was occupied by the functions mentioned and other related trades, and the inner part was occupied by the *Alâfs*, who sold second hand clothes set on a *Kursi* (a square table covered with quilts and blankets which can warm the legs and body by locating a brazier under it). From this point and the evidence of existing sources¹⁵, it can be claimed that, a weekly bazaar, especially on Fridays, was also held in this *Maidân*.

From the points above concerning the bazaar and the *Maidan*'s function, it can be believed that the bazaar complex functioned mostly to supply the monthly and yearly needs of the city inhabitants and the people of the region and, thus, the *Bazaarché* in the centre of each quarter and small bazaars in other cities and villages acted to meet daily and weekly needs. Kostof (1992: 29-37) describes this way of "weaving the local and long-distance activities into the urban form [as] a distinct feature of the business in the Islamic cities".

As explained above, at least half of the City's population was engaged in the work of the bazaar. This was a relatively high proportion which implies the role of the bazaar in the socio-economic and even political life of the City. One may ask what role it had in the political life of the city. The main evidence from history is from the War of the Caravansary which took place in 1855. As most of the local historians indicate, the crafts together with the people of the bazaar played a leading role in that war. For example, as the author of *Hadike-ye Nasiriye* (quoted in Vasilyeva 2000: 9) indicates, "one of the heads of crafts, who took an active participation in that war, was heavily punished". In addition, this also confirms the well-defined alliance between the *Bazari* (who work at the bazaar) and the *Ulamâ* (the learned religious elites) because the social unrest was initiated by the official

¹⁵ In its existing structure, the peddlers usually gathered in both sides of the street (this was called *Cyrus Street* which divided the bazaar and the *Maidân*) on Fridays.

protest of the *Ulamâ* against the decision of the ruler¹⁶ and followed by the *Bazaari*. This was recognised by scholars as an important role of the bazaar in Iranian cities. For example, Kheirabadi (1991: 60) pointed out the main role of the bazaar in the “constitutional movement of the early twentieth century and during the revolution of 1979” when the people of the bazaar closed their shops to show opposition to the Shah’s regime.

Generally speaking, considering the above review and the peculiar spatial relationship of the *Jumaa* mosque and the bazaar (the *Jumaa* mosque being away from the vicinity of the bazaar, that is away from the commoners, and for benefit of the ruling class, as it was within their quarter inside the second wall) it can be claimed that, ‘unlike the popular belief postulated by the model of the Islamic city, it is not the *Jumaa* mosque but the bazaar that formed the centre and actual focus of the city’ (Kheirabadi 1991: 65). More importantly, due to its role as an important place of “social gathering” during the feast days of the Islamic world and Iran (Vasilyeva 2000: 10), it was “a great stop in unifying the disparate parts of the city together” (Ardalan 1980b), apart from the quarter of the ruling class in its fortified wall, and in integrating the social life from the quarters with different social backgrounds (Muslim or non-Muslim) and even the countryside. From this point, as Vasilyeva (2000: 10) indicates, the Sanandaj bazaar is the main “foothold” of the City.

5.4.1.3. Maidân-e Kilisâ (Church)

The third *Maidân* was in the bazaar quarter. As explained, this was an open space in front of the Church surrounded by the public buildings of *Hammâm* and *Bazarché*. As can be seen from the Russian map (1850), this *Maidân* was structured in respect of the Church. Regardless of the *Bazarché*’s function, this to some extent recalls the concept of a square in front of the church in medieval towns of European countries.

Its importance as the third *Maidân* of the city was mainly due to dominant role of the Christians in the trade activities of the city. It was located close to the southern route which

¹⁶ As Mardukh (1992: 404, 405) explained, “in 1855, one from the *Sheikhite* religious school came to the city of *Sanandaj* on behalf of his master (Haj Karim-khan-e Kermani) for the sake of Shiite propaganda. He converted the *Vâli* to the Shiite religion and, thus, they decided to found a centre for this school in the mosque of *Vâli* close to the bazaar. This decision was met by the protest of the *Ulamâ*. But *Vâli* did not pay attention to them. Thus, the *Ulamâ* accompanied by the crafts and *Bazaari* held a meeting in the cemetery of Sheikhan in the west of the city. Regarding this meeting, some availed oneself of the opportunity to plunder the shops of Shiite merchants. This became a pretext for the *Vâli* to pacify the uprising. For this reason, he sentenced to cannonade the site of bazaar. As a result of the *Vâli*’s action, some of the *Ulamâ* changed to the side of Iran’s opponents, the Ottoman Empire”.

crossed the River *Dara-bayân* in the direction of the city of *Kirmânshâh* (figure 5.30). The continuation of this route was connected to the site of the bazaar, especially to the caravansaries, by the tortuous streets (figure 5.23). From this point, as suggested earlier, it was presumably one of the caravan routes into the bazaar area.

As the information was solely acquired from the Russian map (1850) and as there is no other information in local chronicles and as the existing built form does not yield any information, we can not exactly visualise the form of the *Maidân*. Certainly, it did not possess a regular form similar to the structure of the *Maidân-e Alâf-khân* because it was mainly conditioned by the irregular form of adjacent buildings and, thus, was formed in line with the organic pattern of the quarter.

5.4.2. Religious centres

“Among the main features of each settlement, city or village, the place of worship has a particular situation predominant over the other features. Thus, it is located in the centre of each settlement everywhere” (Peernia 1995: 37).

The next places of public life of the City are the religious centres, the main religious buildings of the City are called *Masâjid*/mosque and are where communal worship, prayer, teaching and other socio-cultural activities are performed. This means that the mosques are not only meeting places for prayer because in the words of our Prophet; “the earth has been created for me as a *Masjid* and a place of purity, and whatever man from my *Ummah* finds himself in need of praying, let him pray anywhere” (Imamuddin, Hassan et al. 1985: 1). They acted as umbrellas where people of common belief could interact for their contemplative activities. Among them, the main one, which possessed particular character and symbolic importance, was known as the *Jumaa* mosque where all adult Muslims must gather to conduct the socio-political issues of their community and pray with each other behind the Imam in a unified direction (*Qibla*) and at a particular time on Friday. This was expressed by Rumi (the greatest classical Persian poet of the thirteenth century) as follows:

Cathedral mosques were erected so that the whole city might be assembled there; the Kaaba was instituted in order that the greater part of mankind might gather there out of all cities and climes. (Jalal al-Din Rumi, quoted in Madanipour 2003: 210).

From this point it follows that “it is veritably the home of all people in serving many religious, political, social and educational purposes” (Pope 1967 quoted in Kheirabadi 1991: 64) intended for the strengthening of spiritual and material bonds among the community, as well as fostering brotherhood amongst all men from different walks of life and standing.

In the model of the Islamic city, it was recognised as the pivotal place of social life of the city and was recognised as a fundamental part of city planning in all Muslim countries from Spain to China (Ardalan 1980a: 18). In line with this point, we can look at the historical background of the City in 1720, when the Ottoman Empire captured the City and see how they left their imprint on the City solely by changing the urban element of the *Jumaa* mosque and changing no other element.

Religious belief was discussed by many scholars as “an inflectional factor affecting all aspects of citizens’ lives” in the Islamic world (Kheirabadi 1991: 62). This is mainly so because “Islam is at the same time a religious tradition, a civilisation, and a total way of life because it prescribes the pattern of order for society” (Morris 1994: 372). Hence, the Islamic religion formed some of the most significant structures in the cities. Each city contained some features of this belief mainly in respect of the socio-political background of the context. In the Iranian context, this background created some guidelines for city structure through the dominant Shiite belief in the line of the Caliphate through descendants of Imam Ali (the prophet’s cousin). This belief contextualised new religious buildings and related urban elements in the context of the Iranian city such as *Husayniyyihs* (“buildings for religious mourning”) and shrines of *Imamzâdehs* (the descendants of Imams). The importance of these buildings was such that they often surpassed the centre of the cities and even that of the Friday mosque (Kheirabadi 1991:69). For example, the open space of the *Husayniyyih* formed the main centre of a quarter in the city of *Nain* (figure 5.37). However, as the inhabitants of *Sanandaj* were mostly Sunni Muslims, the city did not contain any independent *Husayniyyih* building.

After this general background concerning the importance of mosques in life of the Islamic city, we move on to the main religious urban element of the city namely the *Jumaa* mosque. As explained, the other religious elements are examined together with discussions concerning the case study of the research.

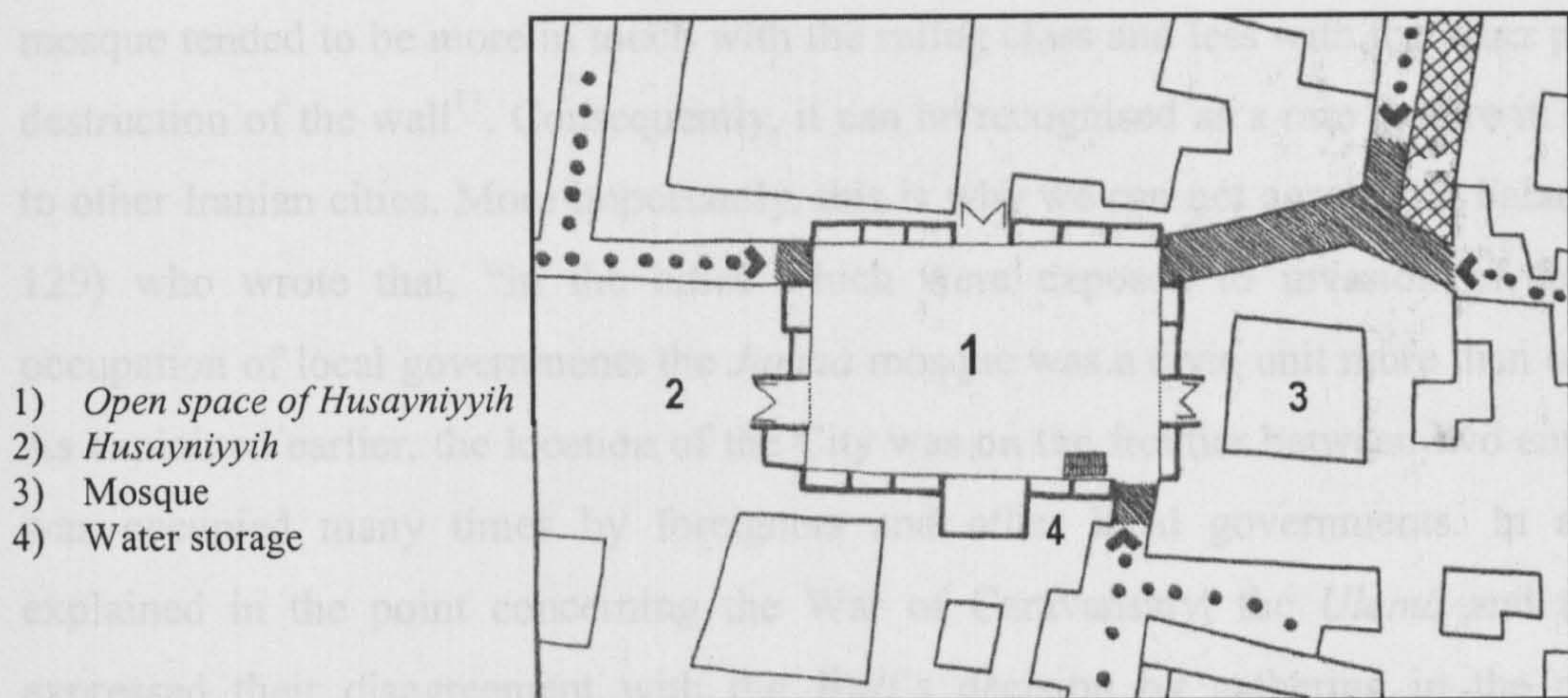


Figure 5. 37. The open space of *Husayniyyih* as a centre of a quarter in the city of *Nain*

Source: Sultanzadeh 1986: 245

5.4.2.1. Jumaa Mosque

In order to understand its role in the city, it is important to understand the mosque's position in the overall urban fabric (Khidir 1998: 46).

The city of *Sanandaj*, similar to other Islamic cities, possessed the buildings of a *Jumaa* mosque. As explained in the chapter on the historical background, the location of the *Jumaa* mosque was affected by political conflicts over history. The previous *Jumaa* mosque, close to the seat of government and the bazaar, was destroyed and the existing one was erected elsewhere far from the bazaar and core of the city in the quarter of ruling class close to the west gate of the city (figure 5.14, 5.19, 5.28). Due to this movement, a separation was created by its location within the second wall of the city. This is somewhat in contrast to that of the Islamic city in general and Iranian one in particular, where either the bazaar was adjacent to the *Jumaa* mosque or its continuation created a spatial structure for their interaction. This feature of the Islamic city is made evident in the words of Falamaki (1995: 129):

“The *Jumaa* mosque can not be separated from the bazaar or maintained in further distance from it because it is the main pillar of the city religious power”.

Considering the above point, the main difference is in respect to the location of the *Jumaa* mosque in the quarter of the ruling house which was enclosed by the city wall, thus, separated from the commoners. This means that the *Jumaa* mosque became detached from the commoners not only by its location in that quarter but also by the image of the wall as a

strong barrier and its action as a symbol of power and status. Because of this the *Jumaa* mosque tended to be more in touch with the ruling class and less with the other people up to destruction of the wall¹⁷. Consequently, it can be recognised as a rare feature in comparison to other Iranian cities. More importantly, this is why we can not agree with Falamaki (1995: 129) who wrote that, “in the cities which were exposed to invasion of foreigners or occupation of local governments the *Jumaa* mosque was a civic unit more than other cities”. As explained earlier, the location of the City was on the frontier between two empires and it was occupied many times by foreigners and other local governments. In addition, as explained in the point concerning the War of Caravansary, the *Ulamâ* and the *Bazaari* expressed their disagreement with the *Wâli*’s decision by gathering in the cemetery of *Sheikhân* rather than at the *Jumaa* mosque.

There is no clear image of that period, in the local chronicles, of how the people dealt with the fact of the *Jumaa* mosque’s location within the city wall. Most of the information in the chronicles concerns the period after the removal of the city walls. For this reason, our image is based on the contents of the history, especially how the rulers used the status of the *Jumaa* mosque as an important public element controlling the socio-political destiny of the city, and how its separation from the commoners affected the built form especially that of the bazaar.

The rulers were aware of the status of the *Jumaa* mosque as the main core of society in organising any uprising against an unpopular decisions or law made by those with political power, and as a place of higher education for *Ulamâ* in Islamic cities. For this reason, they kept it within the second wall among the ruling classes for greater security. By doing this, the people who came from the bazaar and other quarters, had to pass through the street in front of the *Maidân-e Arg* or those linked to it in order to reach the *Jumaa* mosque and participate in Friday prayers (figure 5.28). Under such complicated circumstances, the site of the bazaar was highlighted as the main civic core of the City such that it was supplied by a number of mosques in order to compensate for the separation of the *Jumaa* mosque from hub of the City’s social life (figure 5.30).

¹⁷ None of the historical books mentioned anything about the destruction of the wall. Based on the evidence from other Iranian cities, where most were destroyed in the period of *Naser o-Din Shâh* (1848 – 1896), we can understand that the city walls were destroyed after the fall of the *Ardalân* family because it coincided with the period of *Naser o-Din Shâh-e Qajâr* in 1868.

However, notwithstanding the arguments above, as the *Jumaa* mosque was sited close to the west gate (the gate of *Darê*) on the street, known *Kuchê Derâz*, leading from the east gate of the city (the gate of *Aghâ-Rahim*/bazaar), the continuation of that *Kuchê* beyond the city wall and the barrier of topography to the site of the bazaar could create a strong spatial movement in the structure of the City in order to link the three main public urban elements of the City (figure 5.38). From this point and regardless of the previous discussions, we can point out another idea in respect of the *Jumaa* mosque's separation from the site of the court and the bazaar.

As most of the main features of the city were renovated or created in the period of *Amanullâh-khân* the great (1800-1825), mainly in imitation of the great work of Shah *Abbâs* in Isfahân, and that the city was more developed than at previous times, our claim is that he intended to expand the arena of the bazaar out of its rigid structure in order to supply the potential trade activities of the region. For this reason, he moved the religious centre of the city to the west – opposite the site of the bazaar – as the site of court was in between in order to create a corridor of movement (linear bazaar) with its potential socio-cultural role which would link those three elements (figure 5.38). For him, this can be recognised as an idea for future prospects of the city when the barriers, wall and topography, could be removed. As explained, the main reason for this claim concerns the location of the *Jumaa* mosque along the *Kuchê Derâz* which came from the east gate near to the site of the bazaar, and that the *Ardalân* rulers often intended to create a splendid city in the region similar to that of Isfahân.

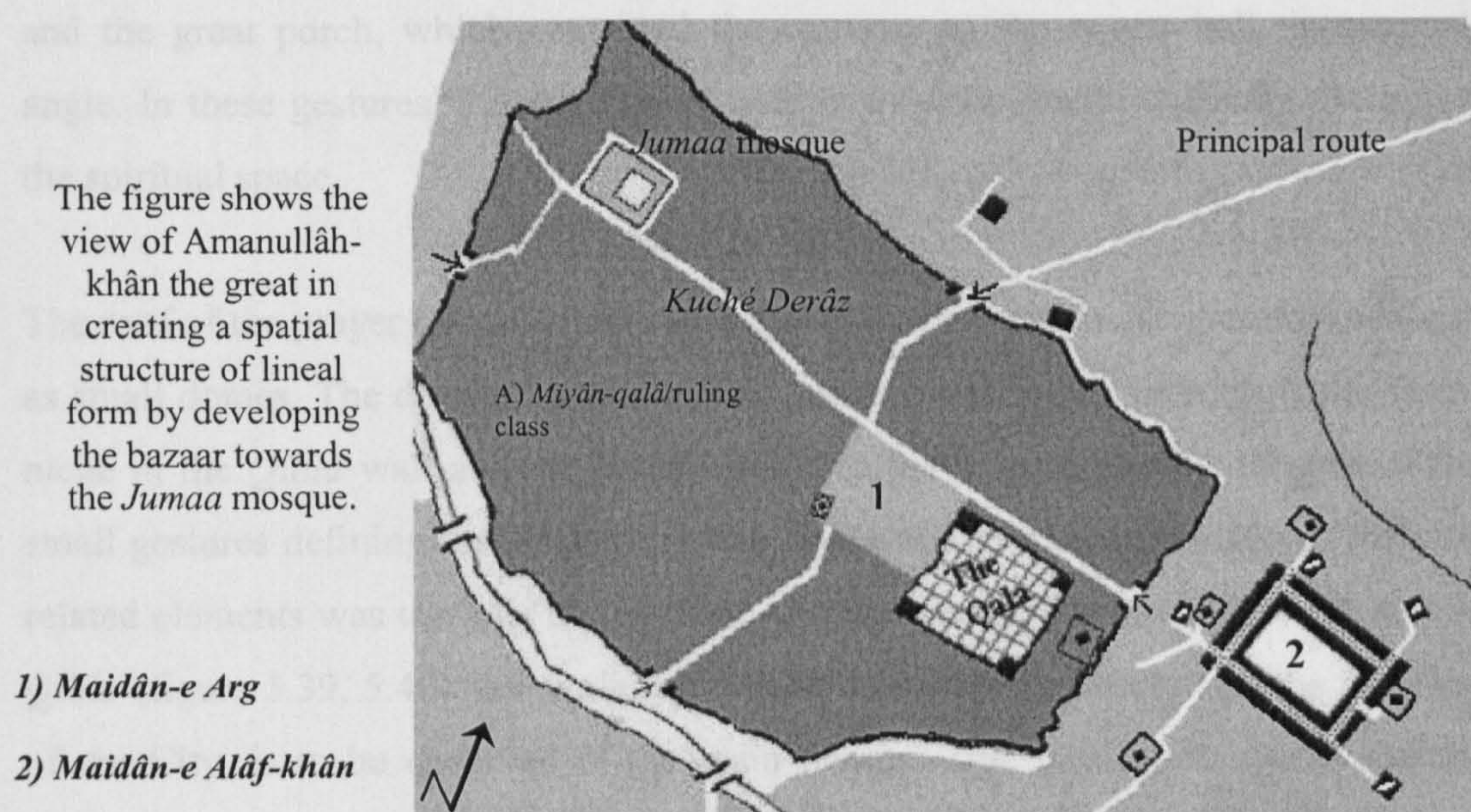


Figure 5. 38. The spatial relationship of the *Jumaa* mosque with the other public spaces of the city, the *Maidân-e Arg* and the bazaar complex

5.4.2.1.1. Physical characteristics

Its location is in a relatively higher part of the city where it could be seen from surrounding areas as a main landmark building in the City (figure 5.39). In the words of Ardalan (1980a: 21), this means an emphasis on the “symbolic value” of the mosque. Similar to other Iranian mosques, it was surrounded by streets. This was recognised by Peernia (1995: 46) as a principle to keep the mosque free from contamination.

Its structure comprises three main parts; the prayer hall (*Shabistân*) in the west of the site, the courtyard in front of the east *Eyvân*/porch or great porch which was flanked on three sides by the chambers of teaching as the third part. While the main orientation of its overall plan is towards the east, the rectangular form of the prayer hall was directed towards the holy *Qibla* (figure 5.40). The prayer hall contained two porches; one towards the east the great porch was flanked by two *Guldasteh* (minarets) (figure 5.39), this was recognised as the main orientation of the city mainly towards the sacred hill of *Toos-nauzar*, the second towards the west. The main gateway was also highlighted by a small porch from the south side linked to the *Kuché Derâz* now Imam Street (figure 5.39). More importantly, it was maintained in the latitudinal axis of the courtyard directed to the court of ablutions. This is an important symbolic notion of mosque architecture which informs people of their first duty before proceeding towards the spiritual space (the prayer hall) (figure 5.40). From this point, the court of ablution was located in the centre of the courtyard where the axis of the gateway and the great porch, which contained the entrance to the prayer hall, intersected at right angle. In these gestures, the great porch acts as a symbol communicating the importance of the spiritual space.

The roof of the prayer hall was supported by 24 pillars with the intervening spaces structured as small domes. The direction of the *Qibla* was emphasised by its rectangular form, a small niche in the *Qibla* wall and the second porch in the exterior facade. In spite of these three small gestures defining the direction of the *Qibla*, the overall orientation of the mosque and related elements was towards the east¹⁸ so that the eastward orientation exceeded that of the *Qibla* (figure 5.39, 5.40). As explained earlier, this easterly orientation, the main orientation of the City, is to be observed in the main features (the bazaar, the *Qalâ*, and the garden ensemble of *Khusrau-âwâ*) and is mainly imposed by features of the setting.

¹⁸ As the deviation of the *Qibla* from the south of the campus is 18 degree towards the west, it is not exactly in the direction of the east.

The photo shows two *Eyvâns* (the smaller facing south and the greater- flanked by two minarets - facing east) and the gateway to the courtyard.

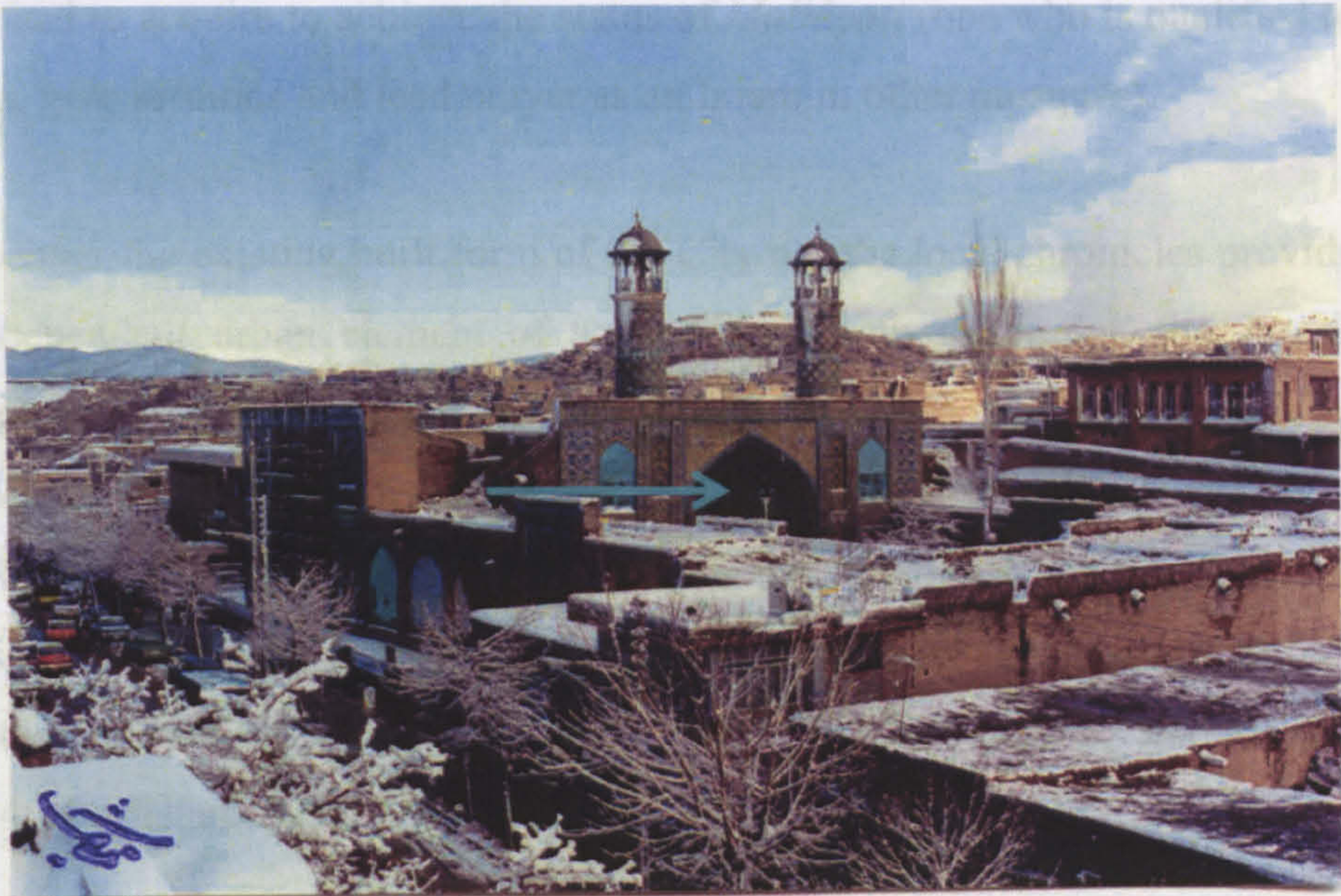


Figure 5. 39. The *Jumaa* mosque’s image as a main landmark of the city, Source: *Teashk* photographer

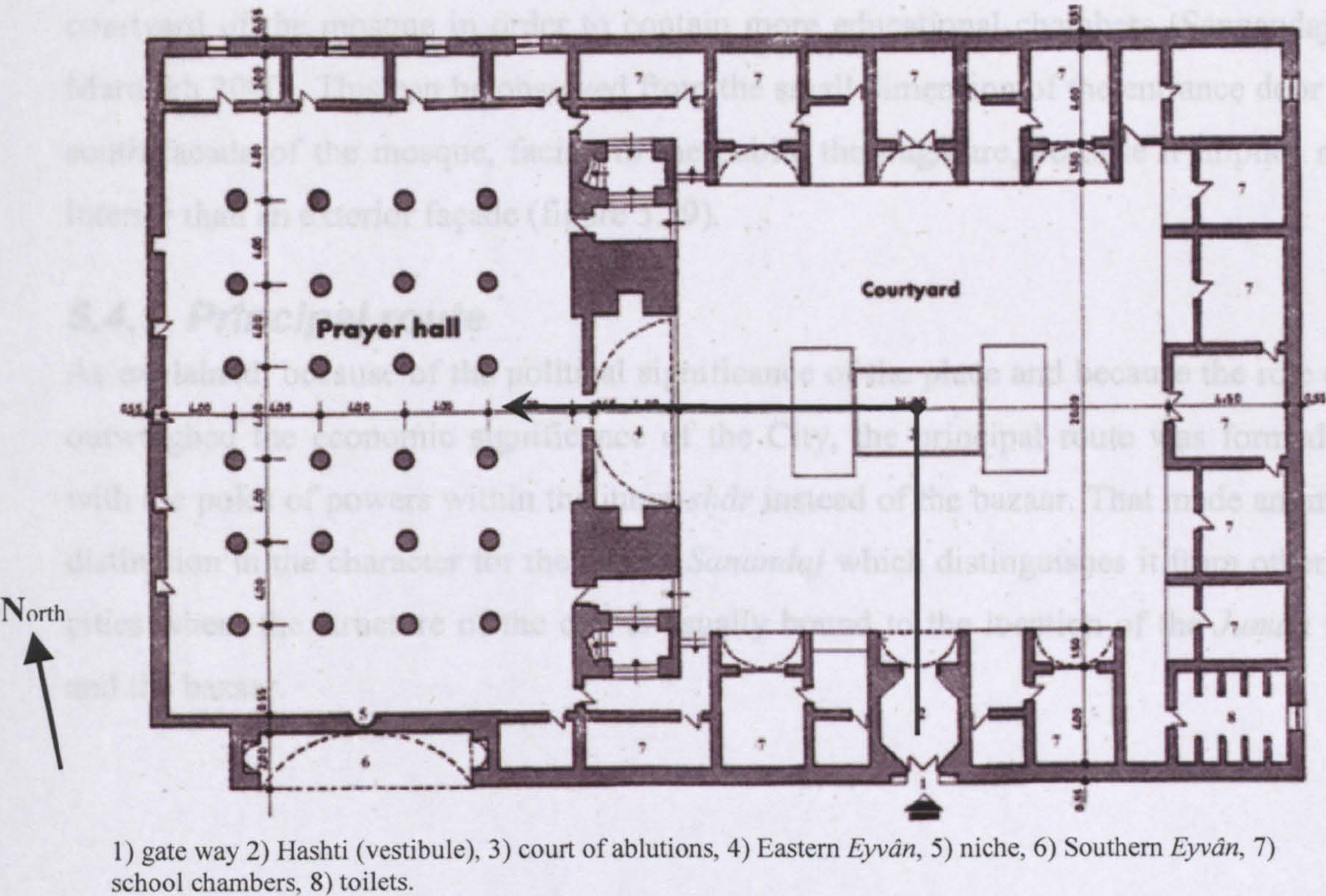


Figure 5. 40. The *Jumaa* mosque’s plan, Source: Marjan consultants 1977

As explained, the courtyard was surrounded by the educational part. This comprises twelve chambers to the north, east and south of the courtyard. From the point of its function, the existence of twelve chambers can be ascribed to twelve stages or levels of knowledge which

each *Taleba*/student had to acquire to achieve the status of *Mallâyati* (one who is qualified to teach the holy *Quran*, give sermons and lead prayer as an Imam in other mosques).

More importantly, neither the existing built form of the City nor the local chronicles provide evidence of any independent urban element of a *Madrasa*. From this point, the *Jumaa* mosque acted as a place of higher education in the region and played an important role in attracting many students from the Iraqi region for higher levels of the education¹⁹. For example, *Mullânâ-Khâled*, who was recognised as the founder of *Naghsh-Bandya Tarighat* (a spiritual religious sect) in Kurdistan, had qualified at that *Madrasa* (Sanandaji 1996: 65). Because of its status, it was called “*Dârull-elm-e Iran*” (Iran’s house of knowledge) (Sannandaji 1996: 14; Kurdistan 2002: 33).

Most of the local historians explain that the south *Eyvân* was due to creating the second courtyard of the mosque in order to contain more educational chambers (Sannandaji 1996; Mardukh 2000). This can be observed from the small dimension of the entrance door and the south facade of the mosque, facing to the public thoroughfare, because it implies more an interior than an exterior façade (figure 5.39).

5.4.3. Principal route

As explained, because of the political significance of the place and because the role of *Qalâ* outweighed the economic significance of the City, the principal route was formed in line with the poles of powers within the inner-*shâr* instead of the bazaar. That made an important distinction in the character for the city of *Sanandaj* which distinguishes it from other Iranian cities where the structure of the city is usually bound to the location of the *Jumaa* mosque and the bazaar.

¹⁹ There were twelve stages in acquiring spiritual knowledge. The lower levels usually were taught in mosques even in the rural areas. Before the existence of the *Jâmia* mosque foundation, students often went to the Iraqi region in order to complete the higher levels. This point make some claim that the creation of this *Jâmia* mosque was as a response to this need in the region, and that the *Vâli Amanullâh-khân* intended to build this mosque with the mixed structure in order to compete with his opponents in the Ottoman Empire (Ahmadi 29.07.03, Bahrami 28.07.03).

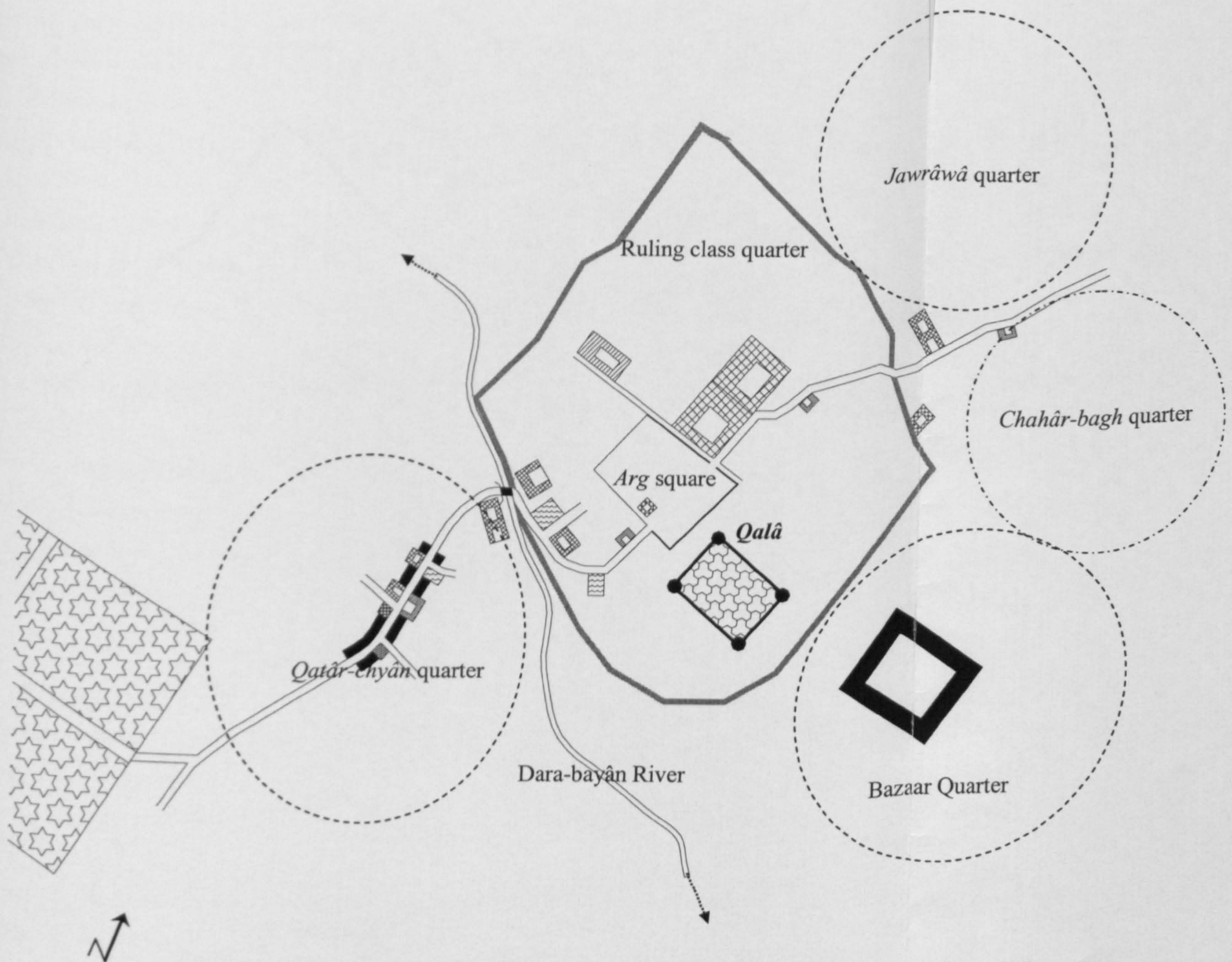


Figure 5.41 The course of principal route and its influential role in the organisation of the urban spaces

As the City's backbone, it ran through the entire City leading from the northeast to the south west. From this point and because it crossed four of the five quarters, it can be recognised as the most influential morphological component influencing the structure of urban spaces. Its course defines the southeast boundary of the *Jawrâwâ* quarter as well as the northwest of *Chahâr-bâgh* quarter. This meant that it functioned as the main thoroughfare, channelling the feeder and collector streets for both quarters. For example, as described earlier, in the *Jawrâwâ* quarter, the primary streets were organised in respect of the principal route so that they mainly branched out from this route which was connected to the inner-*shâr*. Along this part of the route, some of the urban elements evolved comprising the *Qahvé-khané* (Coffee shop), the mosque and *Amjad's* house, which was used as *Hussayyniya*.

After defining the boundaries of those quarters mentioned above, it led to the north-gate of the City, then to the *Arg* square in front of the *Qalâ* and then to the south-gate next to the *Dara-bayân* river. This part of the principal route, then, crosses the entire quarter of the ruling class and many architectural urban elements evolved along it. Close to the *Arg* square, the *Kuché Derâz* branched off to give access to the *Jumaa* mosque.

After the ruling class quarter, the route ran along the existing route towards the slope of the *Âwér* Mountains, and to the garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* (the second seat of power). Its course formed the core of *Qatâr-chyân* quarter and for that reason, more details of the principal route are examined in the discussion concerning the quarter selected for the case study.

5.5. Conclusion

The review above comprised, in the main, three parts. The first dealt with the geophysical setting of the city; it presented evidence of how people related to nature and how the main features of the city were shaped on the basis of ideas stemming from the order of that nature.

The second part discussed the city's morphological components. Within this part there were two sub-sections that can be characterised as comprising the City edges, internal divisions (quarters) and public places. However, the review given under these main headings only brought out the social context in a rather general way, though it was discovered that "the urban form is never innocent of social context" (Kostof 1992: 8). That implied a strong analogy with the social structure of the inhabitants. The basic structure of the city was based

upon the four components of the main quarters, each of which was formed by a group of people with specific features according to professional backgrounds and social status. Although, from the topographical dimension, there were only slight differences between these quarters, their layouts were completely different. For example, the factor of social status limited the ability of choice in the inhabitants of the *Jawrawâ* quarter as they had to follow the order of site, especially the direction of gullies, in projecting the lines of streets. In contrast, it induced the inhabitants of *Aghâ-zamân/bazaar* quarter to form the narrow and circular pattern of streets in order to protect their wealth.

In the perceived structure of the city the court of *Khân* on the hilltop had priority in polarizing the spaces around, rather than the bazaar and the *Jumaa* mosque. The quarter of the ruling class was set up within the fortified wall to secure greater privacy. For this reason, the course of the principal route was directed alongside the poles of power instead of the bazaar. The seclusion of the seat of power and the ruling class quarter from the city of commoners outlined the structure of the satellite quarters as each contained the element of *Bazaarché* and no direct line linked to the site of the bazaar

While the urban element of the bazaar was embraced by the compact form of the settlement (the quarter of bazaar which contained the city's merchants), it was located at the bottom of the *Qalâ's* hill within the view of the court and without direct line to the countryside or caravan roads. In order to transport goods to serve the function of the bazaar and to distribute the agricultural products of the region, another quarter for the muleteers was formed to the south of the city and separated from it by the river. And finally, the north part of the city was allocated to the poor people as servants of the ruling class.

Considering those ideas mentioned, it can be seen that the concept of the City's structure was perceived in advance by its founders as a whole with the design principles serving the interests of *Khâns*/ruling class. This means that the concept of planned can be applied for the city of *Sanandaj* in a sense analogous to the notion of Akbar (1988 cited in Morris 1994: 381):

It is stressed that the term 'planned' applies only in respect of a political decision to establish a permanent settlement on a given site.

And finally, by referring to the street pattern of *Chahâr-bâgh* and *Aqhâ-zamân* quarters, the view of Kheirabadi (1991), who claimed that there is no geometric order of streets in the city of *Sanandaj*, can be criticized. The reason for this claim can be traced back to his approach. He referred mainly to the natural environment context of the city as a rough and irregular order for settlements pattern, not to its socio-political dimension, especially the processes of place making over the course of time. That is why the unique and peculiar features of the place have to be perceived only from local conditions.

Chapter Six: Study Area Qatâr-chyân Quarter Structuring Elements

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6.1. Introduction

Now, after exploring the morphological components of the city, its main public spaces, and the forces and principles underlying their organisation, it is possible to approach one of the quarters and its sections at the level of house aggregation which can give us the details of place structure and its design principles. In this part, our discussion will be based on existing information, the views of interviewees, historical records, and a wider urban analysis of the quarter whose built form has been changed less than others, and is consequently more appropriate for our purpose in deriving the details of its design principles. Because of those considerations, the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* was selected as a base to move into the structure of the quarters and the principles that aggregated the constituent elements. It means examining the structuring elements of the quarter, house aggregation at the level of neighbourhood, and more important to examine the interplay between private and public domains. It requires viewing both internal and external orders because as Rapoport (1977) indicates – “the way the external order is developed depends on what happens in the internal and vice versa” – those two orders and even the City’s parts are meaningless unless examined in terms of each other.

Due to the bulk of materials that have been prepared on the selected quarter, we aim to present them in three chapters. The first, Chapter Six, deals mostly with the physical dimensions of the quarter which were conceptualised as structuring elements, the elements which substantially gave rise to the apparent character of the quarter. The second part will be the seventh chapter of the thesis and will mainly tackle the social dimension of the quarter’s built form which is embedded in the notions of public domain alongside some considerations on the experiential qualities of physical space in the circulation system of the quarter. The third part, Chapter Eight, focuses on the private domain to examine the perceived order in the public and semi-public/private spaces within the domain of private life and the spatial structure of the houses in two groups of higher and lower status.

Considering the above points, the followings sections constitute the first part and pave the way to the second part, the social dimension of the selected built form.

6.2. The quarter of Qatâr-chyân

The word *Qatâr-chyân*, is used at present together with the word *Janat* (heaven), to refer to the area of the old town lying to the south, on the south side of the *Dara-bayyân* river, facing the quarter of the ruling class. It was separated by the river from the other parts of the old town, especially the main part which contain the foci of the City (Figure 6.1).

The quarter is in the south part of the city opposite the quarter of the ruling class and separated by the *Dara-bayyân* River from the main city



Figure 6. 1. *Qatâr-chyân's* location adjacent to the garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ*, source: *Sâzmân-é Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

The division of the City in two separate entities is evident from looking, at the old maps including the Russian map (1850) which was presented in the chapter on the City's historical background, the Alton Map (1958) presented for each quarter in the chapter concerning the structure of the City, and the aerial photograph from 1957 shown as the above figure; the separation is especially evident in the maps from before the radical socio-economical changes which led to expansion of the city beyond its ecological capacity,. Although the river acted as a separation element, it can be recognised as a longitudinal axis which invited man to come together and live close to it. The river also gave the quarter an important potential to acquire a character distinguishable from other quarters, and it is that distinctive character that the following chapter aims to clarify by exploring the shaping principals.

6.2.1. Etymology of the *Qatâr-chyân* word

There are some differences of view among the local historians as to the literal meaning of the word *Qatar-chyân*. In the view of Marduk (2000), the name of the quarter is derived from

the words *Qâtér-chyân* (*Qâtér* = mule and *Chyân* = keepers). Hence, it means people that kept mules here. This was criticized by Maarufi¹. He referred to the current spelling of the *Qatâr-chyân* word (*Qatâr* = train and *Chyân* = set). Thus he sees it as meaning the people that arranged the mules in linear form in order to transport goods. His view is not in sharp contrast to the main opinion of the quarter's residents, put forward mainly by Mardukh, but his etymological analysis can be criticised because in one of the historical records dated 1894, which relates to property transactions, the name of the quarter is specified just as Mardukh's view would have it. It shows that instead of the current name of *Qatâr-chyân* the name *Qâtér-chyân* was used for the quarter.

Apart from the dispute among the local historians, the definition above clarifies the main profession of the inhabitants and the way they earned their living which was mostly bound to the business of transport.

The transport businesses were not just to do with the bazaar and transporting local products to other cities and vice versa, they also benefited the City by dressing building materials, mostly stone, from the *Âwear* Mountains and carrying them to the City. A further duty of muleteers can be seen in this extract from an account by Sheikh Abraham²:

The train of mules was arranged towards the *Âwear* Mountains during the spring, mostly from the end of winter, in order to bring snow. The snow was usually stored in special places in the quarter, mostly underground in order to be used during the summer. Because of that, the name *Bân Yakhachâl* (the place of the ice house) was usually used for a particular place in the quarter close to the mansion of the *Wakils'* family.

In this account, we can see that both notions of the quarter etymology were embedded alongside the main profession of the quarter's residents and an important point concerning the place of the icehouse in the quarter. The icehouse was only mentioned in relation to the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, which can be explained by the location of the quarter close to the snow pits on the top of the *Âwear* Mountains.

¹ He was one of my interviewees (interviewed 15.08.2004). As a retired employee of the Kurdistan cultural heritage authority, his information was a point of reference for most students of the built environment concerning the city of *Sanandaj*.

² He was one of the interviewees (interviewed 17.09.2004). He was over 80 years old. As a famous traditional orthopaedic surgeon, he was familiar with most of old residents of the quarter. Hence, he gave us ample information concerning neighbourhood relationships and the past life of the city.

6.2.1.1. Inhabitants and their livelihood

Under the section on the meaning of the quarter's name, the main economic activity of the quarter was briefly mentioned. Following on from that point, here we shall review the people's production activities. Looking back to the time when the fortified middle part of the city still existed and the herder community actually lived within the selected quarter, where they could feed their cattle on the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains, going out to the slopes at sunrise and returning home at sunset.

I remember the time that the *Kuchéha-ye Mahalla* (quarter's alleys) were crowded each day at the time of sunset with shepherds (Sheikh Abraham³)

Due to the structure of the natural place, especially the abundant supply of water from *Âwear*⁴ Mountains, the lands surrounding the quarter were the most productive ones around the City. In comparison with other quarters which lacked the space, the fertility of the surrounding areas and the sense of the self-reliant status of the quarter can be seen as the main reasons that some of the people used to keep sheep.

However, most of the people of the quarter could not afford to keep sheep so only some of the families were engaged in this profession. As *Galadâri*⁵, whose family was well known for keeping mules for trade activities, explained, his house contained two separate parts; one comprised space for the human living quarters in the north part of the plot, the second, the south part had two stables for about 20 to 25 mules and eight *Zâkha*⁶ - cave-like structures - for sheep. Due to the lack of recorded information from maps and writings and to physical changes in the size of the houses, our investigation did not find specific evidence in the city which demonstrates the location of the above features, especially the element of *Zâkha* in the spatial structure of the houses.

³ Interviewed 17.09.2004

⁴ The word *âwear* in itself means the source of water, the place where water originates from.

⁵ He is one the interviewees (interviewed 11.08.2004) and about 67 years old. His family is known in the quarter for the keeping mules and sheep to such an extent that the western part of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter is recognised as the *Mahalla-ye Gala-dârâ* (who looks after the cattle and mules).

⁶ The *Zakhé* is a built structure to some extent similar to the icehouse used in Iranian plateau. Its main part is usually underground with relatively more area than the top which is narrowed to maintain the ceiling and subterranean canals linked to other *Zakhé* or outside (see figure 6.2).

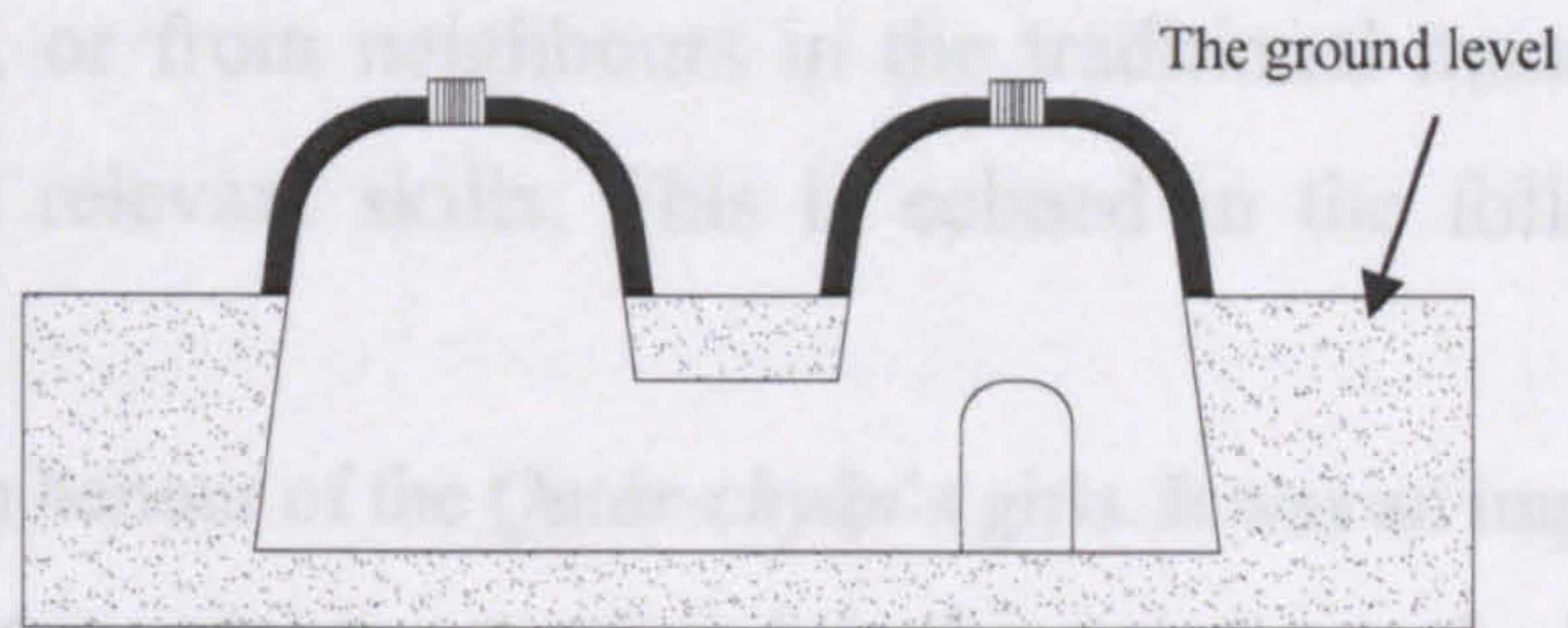


Figure 6. 2. Photograph and section drawing of a *Zakhé* in one of the villages (*Qalâ-kuon*, the old citadel) in the far north of *Sanandaj*

Source: author August 2004

Due to the fertility of the area of quarter, another source of work can be seen to do with cultivation. Some sense of the importance of this activity can be seen in the writing of Kinneir (1813: 144), a visitor to the city in 1813:

Secluded in the bosom of a deep valley, well-cultivated and interspersed with orchards of peach, apricot, pear, apple, and cherry-trees, *Senna* [*Sanandaj*] is, at once, a most romantic and flourishing little town.

According to the views of writers about the City (Ayazi 1992; Haqshenas 1999; Rangavary 1999⁷), most of the city gardens (*Bâqât*) were located on the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains and some along the *Dara-bayyân* River. This means that instead of the whole city the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* was mostly what Kinneir referred to in the above account. As explained, the existence of those gardens close to the site of the quarter together with an abundant supply of water led to it being regarded as the place of *Janat* (heaven) by the people. To some extent, as Ayazi (1992) indicates, in addition being another source of income for the inhabitants of the quarter by employing some in selling fruits and from renting them these fields were also places for the young and adults of the city to gather, attracted by the presence of *Qahva-khané* - coffee house - to spend their leisure time there. This point will be discussed further in the next chapter which will deal with the public spaces of the quarter.

⁷ He is one of a master builder (craftsman) professional in *Gatch*-work/plastering above 90 years old. His narration, mostly his memories, concerning the past life of the city was tape recorded in 1999 due to his age, and having a good background of those events. During the field of the research, he was not able to be one of my interviewees.

Small-scale handicrafts, especially carpet weaving, were a common third source of income for commoners in the quarter. It was mainly the responsibility of the women to weave the carpets and even to spin its primary materials; they either learned it from family members as knowledge handed down the generations, or from neighbours in the traditional manner of learning from a master proficient in the relevant skills. This is echoed in the following account by Ayazi (1992):

The carpet weaving craft was the main honour of the *Qatâr-chyân*'s girls. It was an important point and an advantage over the others in order to get married. In the past, due to the lack of school for the girls and because it was recognised as just being for the boys, the girls therefore learned that craft from neighbours or their relatives.

He continued, to discuss another type of carpet made by this craft namely the prayer rug (*Soujâ*) which was a main part of girls' *Jahâz*/dowry. For this reason, especially for girls from low-status families, it was a necessary for them to have knowledge of that craft in order to weave the main item of their *Jahâz*. In so doing, they could also contribute to the income of their families by weaving additional prayer rugs. Due to its quality as a luxury handicraft, it was usually used by high-status families. It was mostly woven to order from those families or woven based on their wishes.

Those above points show that women in the commoners' families had a major role in the family's livelihood alongside the men, who were mostly involved with the business of transport.

Another group acted as the dealers and shopkeepers of the quarter and they would even trade with other cities and the regional countryside. Due to the self-reliant status of the quarter it had a direct link with the villages in the south and west parts of the Kurdistan which was usually supported by a number of small caravans from those villages. This made the quarter into the source of agricultural products which employed some of the people there in order to meet with the needs of the quarter's residents and, more importantly, also to meet the needs of residents of other quarters.

Apart from the commoners engaged in those professions, there were other groups of inhabitants consisting of government and administrative officials from such families as the *Wakils*, *Bâbâns* and *Dârughé* among others. In this category but with less official status, we can mention the position of *Ulamâ* (learned people) who were mostly involved in education

and religious affairs. As explained previously and we will come across them again in later sections, these two groups as notables of the quarter had an important role in the mobilisation of the people and the administrative affairs of the quarter. Based on their status, their lifestyle and values were rather different from those of the commoners, which resulted in different attitudes to the spatial structure of their houses. This will be examined in the next chapters. An example, which illustrates the point of status and cultural values, is that the women of this stratum were free of the need to acquire a profession in contributing to the livelihood of their families. More importantly, they were helped by others, mostly by servants and people named *Zheer-mâla*⁸, and, thus, their territory was limited to their personal realm mostly within the private domain of the houses.

6.2.2. Physical development

Before moving on to the structuring elements of the quarter, it is useful to present some discussion of its physical development and the process of its formation over the course of time. This will help us to recognise the structuring elements and shaping factors in conjunction with events in the quarter's history.

6.2.2.1. First phase: Qula mosque

As explained earlier, based on the survey by the Kurdistan Cultural Heritage Organisation, the date of *Qula* mosque's construction may be traced back to the period of *Safavids* Empire (1502-1736). As the date of city foundation was specified as 1639, the above point shows that the *Qula* mosque is one of the oldest buildings in the City. This fact also indicates that the settlements around the mosque, on the slopes of the *Dara-bayân* River, are in the main the older parts of the quarter with the possibility of a close link with other settlements on the opposite side of the river outside of the City wall⁹ (figure 6.3). From this point it follows that the mosque's location can be recognised as the first gathering place of the quarter, or the integrating point for the settlements.

⁸ A poor family that lives in the house of a rich or notable person, but in that part of the house close to the entrance door. This will be expanded in the following chapter.

⁹ As explained in city historical background, especially based on the view of Mardukh (2000), before the City's foundation there were a number of settlements on the slopes of the *Qalâ's* hill (citadel) which were called *Sennah* and belong to the *Zareen-koush* (golden shoes) family. Our hypothesis is that these settlements were not just on one side of the river (the northern side). But, similar to the settlements in rural areas, they would be on both sides. From this point, we can claim that the *Qula* mosque is the oldest mosque of the City; and, presumably, was used as the main mosque of those settlements before the City's foundation.

In the formation of the settlements, a river is usually an inevitable natural element which man would settle close to so as to benefit from its conditions. Usually, the northern side was more desirable part in mountain areas of the region because it makes it possible to get more light from the sun during the harsh winter weather.

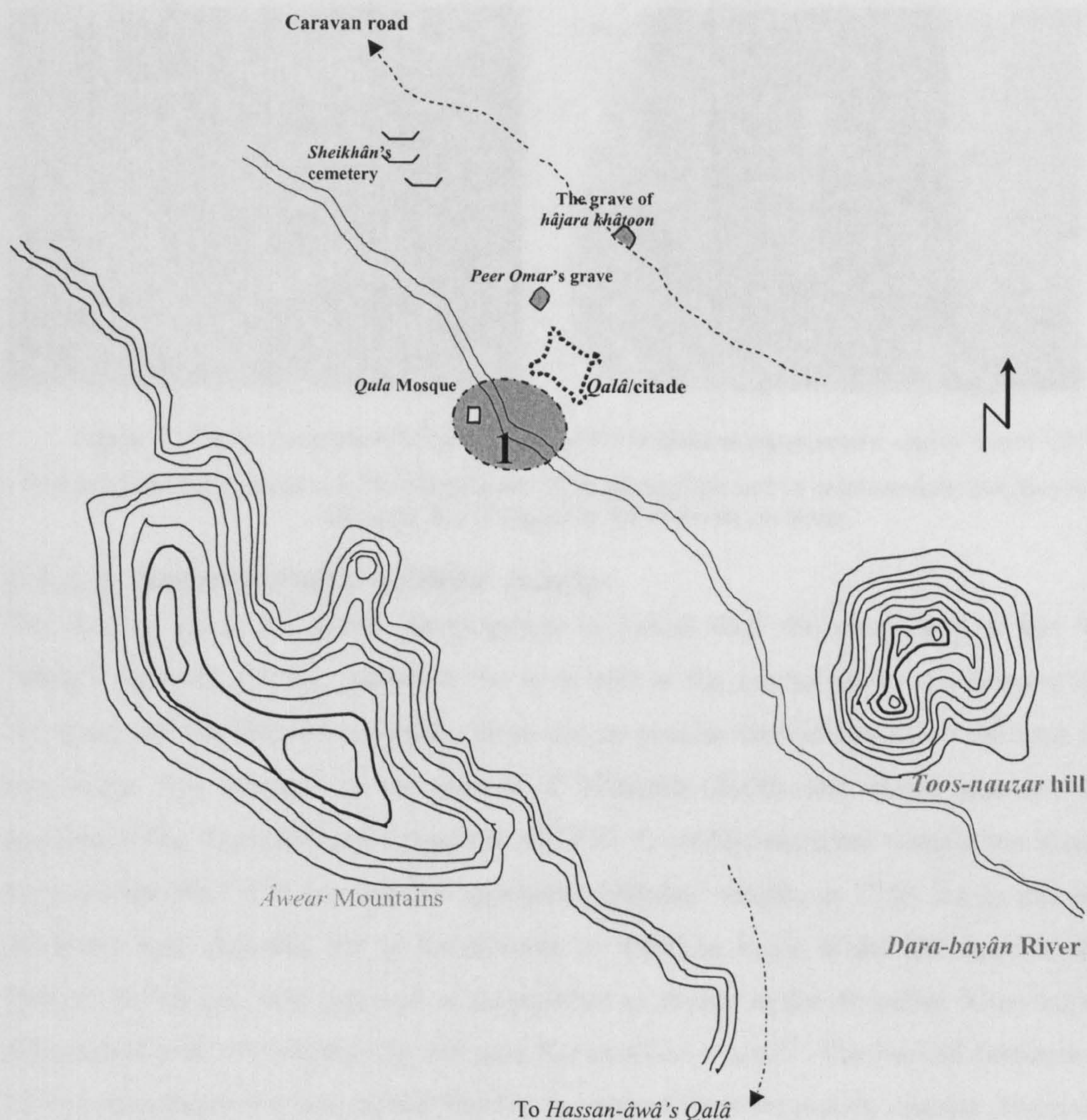


Figure 6. 3. First phase of quarter formation

This part (southern part of the river) was called *Mahalla-ye Daré* (Rangavary 1999). This alongside the northern part formed the first settlements present on the site of the city prior to its foundation in 1639.

In character and structure it is largely similar to those in the rural areas, of simple appearance and with no symbol indicating that it is a mosque that is recognisable from the surrounding settlements (figure 6.4). In line with discussion concerning the historical background of the city, this to some extent supports the view that the site of City was occupied by rural settlements prior to the City's foundation.



Figure 6. 4. View from one of the *Kuché* towards the *Qula* mosque, source: author August 2003

The image of the mosque is in the central part of the photograph and its entrance door is adjacent to the *Dârughé Kuché* linked to the *Dara-bayân* River.

6.2.2.2. Second phase: *Wakils'* family

The second phase of quarter development is linked with the movement of the *Wakils'* family¹⁰ from the *Khâns'* quarter to the level part of the quarter above the slope of river in the south. In the historical records, there are no precise indications about the time of this movement. For example, in the records of Mardukh (2000), this family was in a deputy position to the *Ardalâns'* government until 1749. A conflict occurred when a war took place between the *Wâli Ardalân* and his opponents, *Bâbâns'* family, in 1750. As in this war the *Ardalâns* were defeated due to the failures of *Abrâhim bag-e Wakil* (the head of *Wakils'* family), this family was deprived of its position as deputy to the *Ardalâns*. More important, this pushed him to leave the city and join *Karim Khân-e zand*¹¹. The limited evidence points to this occasion as the time of the *Wakil's* movement from the nobles' quarter. However, the following passage from Babani (1998: 53) suggests we can say that the time of the movement was even earlier than the above date because it clearly states that the mansion of the *Wakil* family existed before the starting date of clashes between the two families.

After reconciliation of the *Wâli Ardalân* and *Wakil* in 1785, five thousands *Toomans* were given to *Wakil* in order to renovate his house which was completely destroyed during his migration.

¹⁰ The *Wakils'* family was one of the nobles in the quarter of the ruling class (*Miyân-qalâ*), but was driven out of that quarter because of continuous opposition to the ruling house (*Waziers'* family) and acting on the side of the *Ardalâns'* adversaries.

¹¹ As Mardukh (2000: 351) indicated, due to that event, *Abrâhim Bag-e Wakil* encouraged *Karim Khân-e Zand* (the founder of *Zand* dynasty 1757-1794) to capture the city of *Sanandaj*. As a result of the *Khan-e Zand* intrusion the city was burned in 1751.

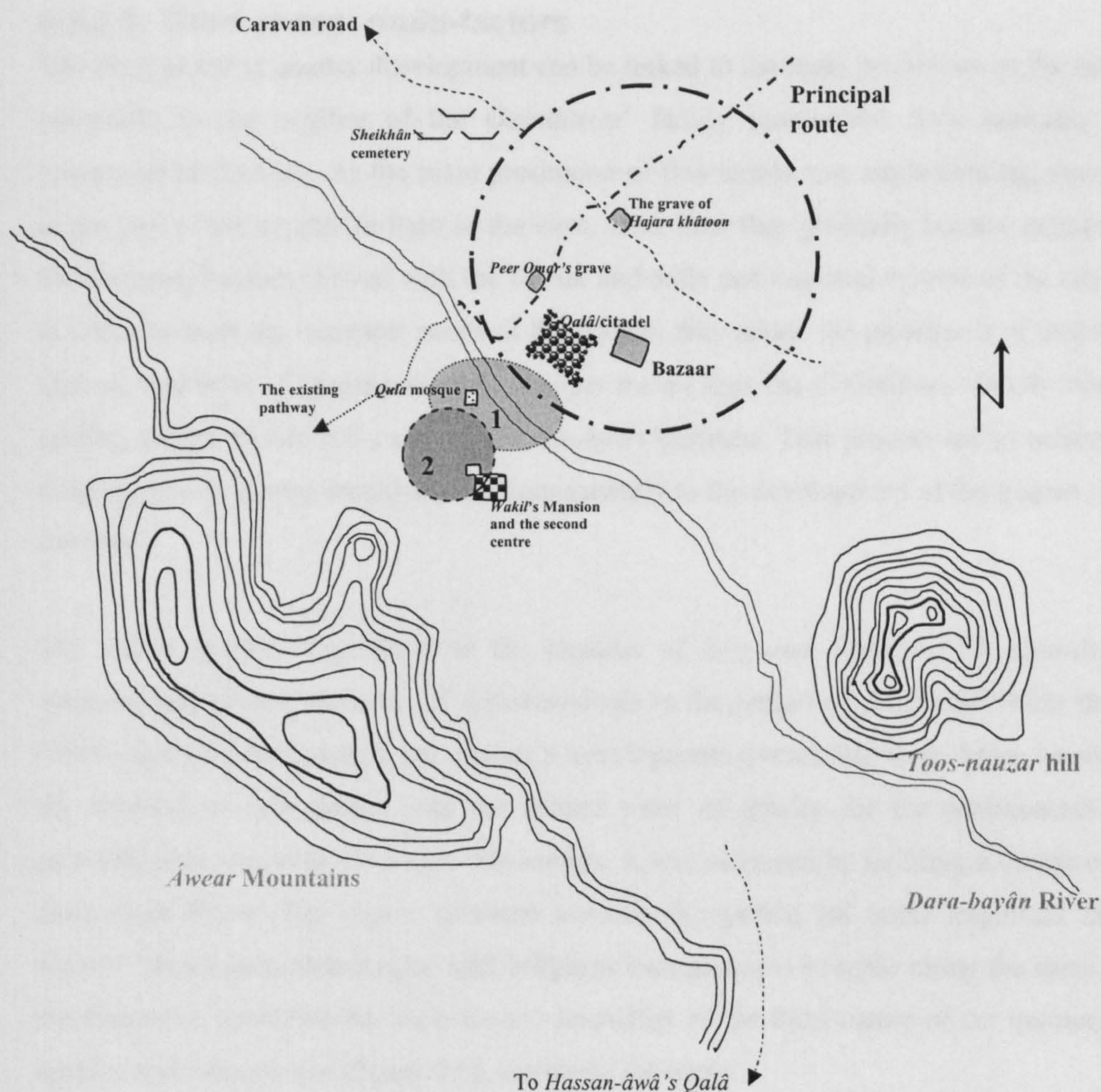


Figure 6. 5. The second phase of quarter development in connection with the link to the *Wakil's* family

Overall, the *Wakils*' movement to the southern part of the quarter made up the second phase of the quarter's development (figure 6.3). To some extent, the place where they lived defined the southern boundary of the quarter and acted as a point of gravity to attract more people to settle there. In addition, their location attracted some other important families, most notably the *Bâbâns*¹² family, who were opposed to the *Ardalâns*. Furthermore, their mansion was a main point of reference for the structure of a second centre of the quarter called *Wakil's Bazaarché*. This means that the first centre of quarter in the old part adjacent to the *Qula* mosque gradually moved over time to the new location close to the mansion of the *Wakils*.

¹² As explained in historical background chapter, the *Bâbâns*' family ruled other part of Kurdistan in the Iraqi region under the control of Ottoman Empire. A few of this family migrated to the city of *Sanandaj* due to political disputes among themselves and the Ottoman's Sultan.

6.2.2.3. Third phase: multi-factors

The third phase of quarter development can be linked to the main profession of the residents, especially to the settling of the *Galadâries*' family (cattlemen) from nomadic life in mountains to the City. As the main profession of this family was cattle herding, they settled in the part of the quarter furthest to the west. Over time they gradually became engaged with the transport business linked with the bazaar and daily and seasonal matters of the city. Thus, in order to meet the transport needs of the bazaar, they added the profession of muleteers to that of herdsman. Engaging in that business meant that the *Galadâries*' family needed to employ people to run and carry on the transport business. This process led to settlement of those people that were employed and consequently to the development of the quarter towards the west.

The above process, together with the creation of *Bâq and Emarat-e Khusrau-âwâ* (the mansion and garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ*) in the period of *Amanullâh-khân* the great (1800-1825) further pushed the quarter's development toward the west. More importantly, the creation of that garden was the second point of gravity for the continuation of the principal route towards the *Âwear* Mountains. It was achieved by building a bridge over the *Dara-byân* River. The course of route towards the garden led some important families, mostly *Ulamâ* (educated people with religious backgrounds) to settle along the route. These developments provided the basis for the formation of the third centre of the quarter, called *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché* (figure 6.6), alongside the route.

The summary of the review above is that the formation and development of the quarter took place in three stages. The first stage is traced back to the first period of the City's foundation and possibly before it. In this time the focal point of the settlements was closely linked with the *Qula* mosque. The second stage was related to the movement of *Wakils*' family to the south part of the quarter. In third stage, several socio-political factors were engaged in directing the quarter's development towards the west and more important in creating the major linear *Bazaarché*, for example the existing course of the route to the *Âwear* Mountains¹³, the economic role of *Galadâries*' family in the employment of people in the

13 As the course of route had also been the main route toward *Âwear* Mountains in the earlier life of the city even before the construction of *Bâq and Emarat-e Khusrau-âwâ*, we can claim that it was recognised by *Ardalâns*' family as a potential pathway to build their summer house and in order to define a new point of reference in the structure of the city, and to emphasise their powers. This is in line with the view of Norberg-Schulz (1980: 17) that "where nature indicates a direction, he (man) makes a path".

transport business, the political decision of the ruler in creating a prominent symbol of power across the City along the pathway - from the perspective of space language (Lawson 2001), this symbol which communicated the role of its occupants could also communicate the dominant power of its creator throughout the region of Kurdistan - and finally the settling of important religious families along that route.

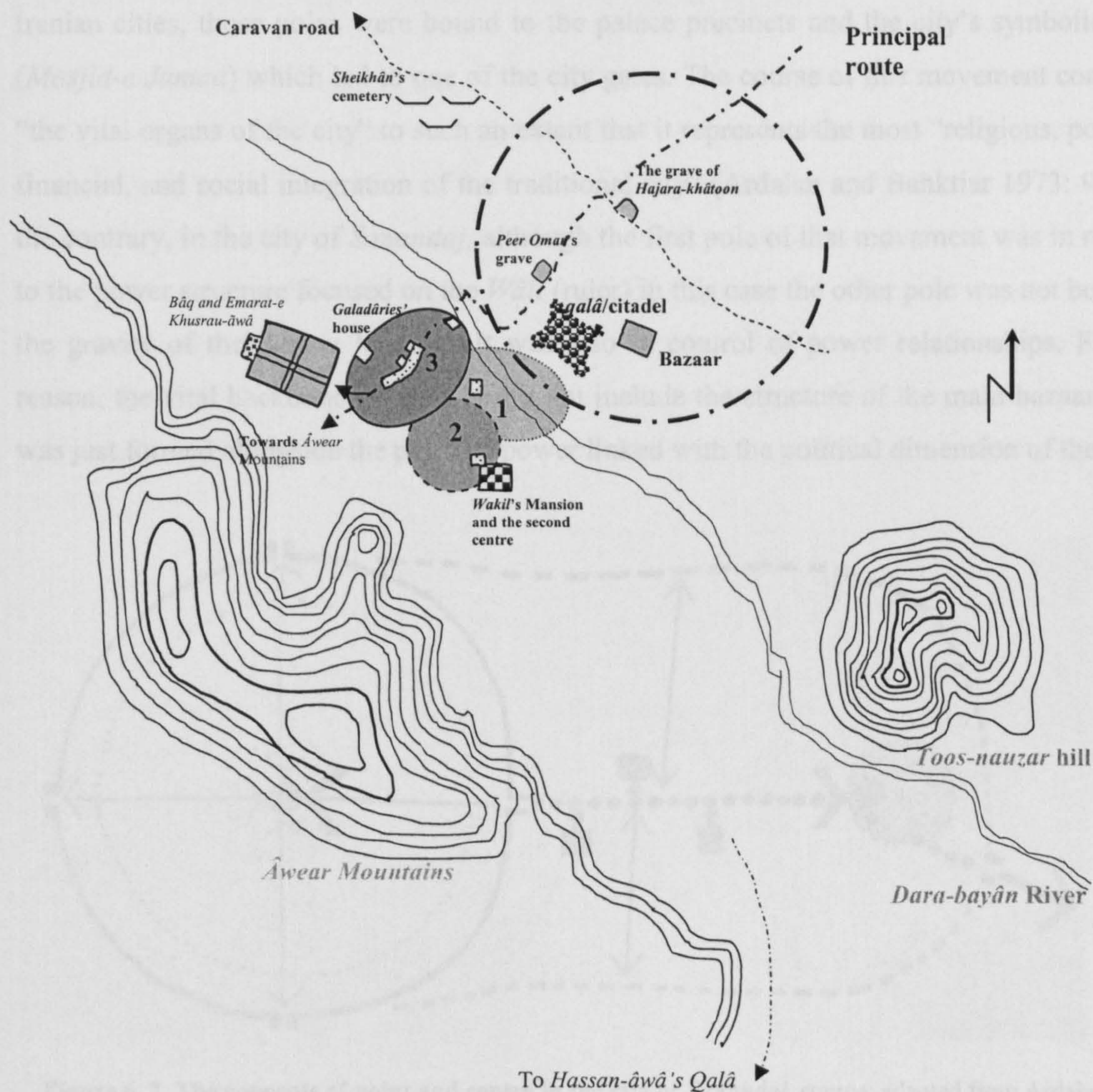


Figure 6. 6 The third phase of quarter development was motivated by different socio-political factors

Note that, in first and second phases of quarter development, as the point of reference and convergence was bound to one element, the morphology of the centres was formed in a focused structure (single point in space/concentrated centre). But in third phase, the morphology of quarter centre changed to a linear form (*Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché*) because of the gravity of different poles of movement. Hence, the formation of the linear *Bazaarché* can be compared with the concept of point and line in the work of Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973:

89). As they argue “the centre as a single point in space [the first place of power structure on the hill which was created in 1639] moves in time [the second place of power – *Emarat and* garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* – which was created in the period of *Amanullah-khan* the great (1800-1825)] and creates the line [the linear form of *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché*]” (figure 6.7). In this comparison, the point of difference is in the poles of gravity. As they argued, in Iranian cities, those poles were bound to the palace precincts and the city’s symbolic heart (*Masjid-e Jumaa*) which led to one of the city gates. The course of this movement contained “the vital organs of the city” to such an extent that it represents the most “religious, political, financial, and social integration of the traditional city” (Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973: 93). On the contrary, in the city of *Sanandaj*, although the first pole of that movement was in relation to the power structure focused on the *Wâli* (ruler) in this case the other pole was not bound to the gravity of the *Jumaa* Mosque. It was also in control of power relationships. For this reason, the vital backbone of the city did not include the structure of the main bazaar and it was just formed alongside the poles of power linked with the political dimension of the city.

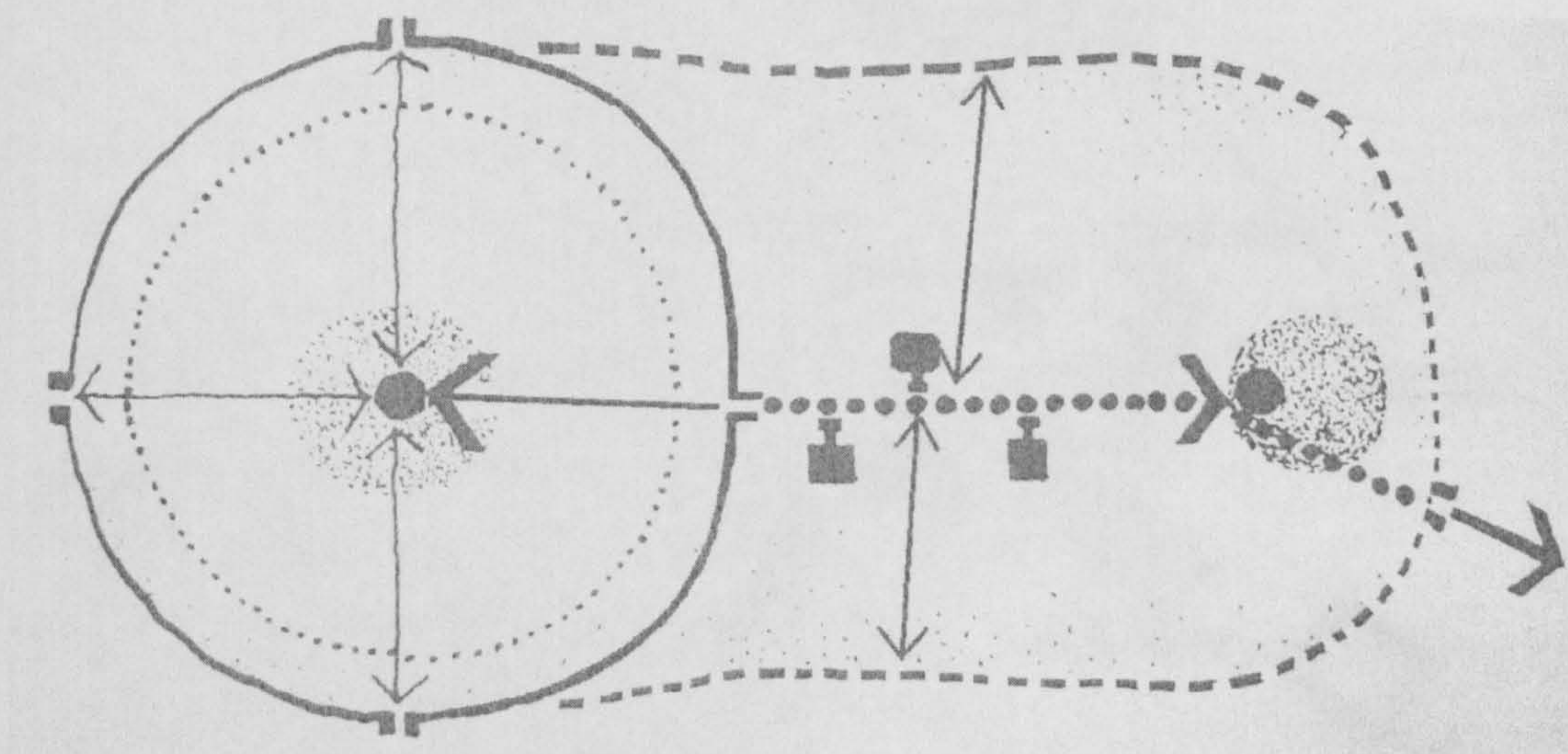


Figure 6. 7. The concepts of point and centre in the city of *Sanandaj*, source: adapted from Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1979

As explained earlier in the historical background, this separation, of the bazaar from the principal route, had happened because of the pre-eminence of the political dimension of the City over other socio-economic factors. Consequently, due to this pre-eminence, the backbone of the city was directed alongside the poles of power (*Qalâ Emarat* and the garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ*) which together with the factors already mentioned led to the formation of the *Qatâr-chyân* linear *Bazaarché* (small bazaar) instead of the main bazaar in

the whole structure of the city. Therefore, it is a logical point to make that the role of power relationships had a major influence on the structure of urban spaces.

6.2.3. Structuring elements

From the above review of the physical development of the quarter, it is possible to investigate the structuring elements in the following sub-sections.

6.2.3.1. First: principal route

In first approach to the quarter, especially from the evidence in the old aerial photo (*Sâzmân-é Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957) and regardless of the above review, the main structuring element of the quarter is a long linear street in a northeast-southwest direction which divided the quarter into two separate parts, east and west (figure 6.1, 6.8). This linear street is a continuation part of the principal route leading from the bridge over the *Dara-bayyân* River to the summer mansion of the ruler, *Bâq and Emarat-e Khusrau-âwâ*, along which the centre of the quarter evolved from the junction points of streets leading from the two parts and a meeting place¹⁴.

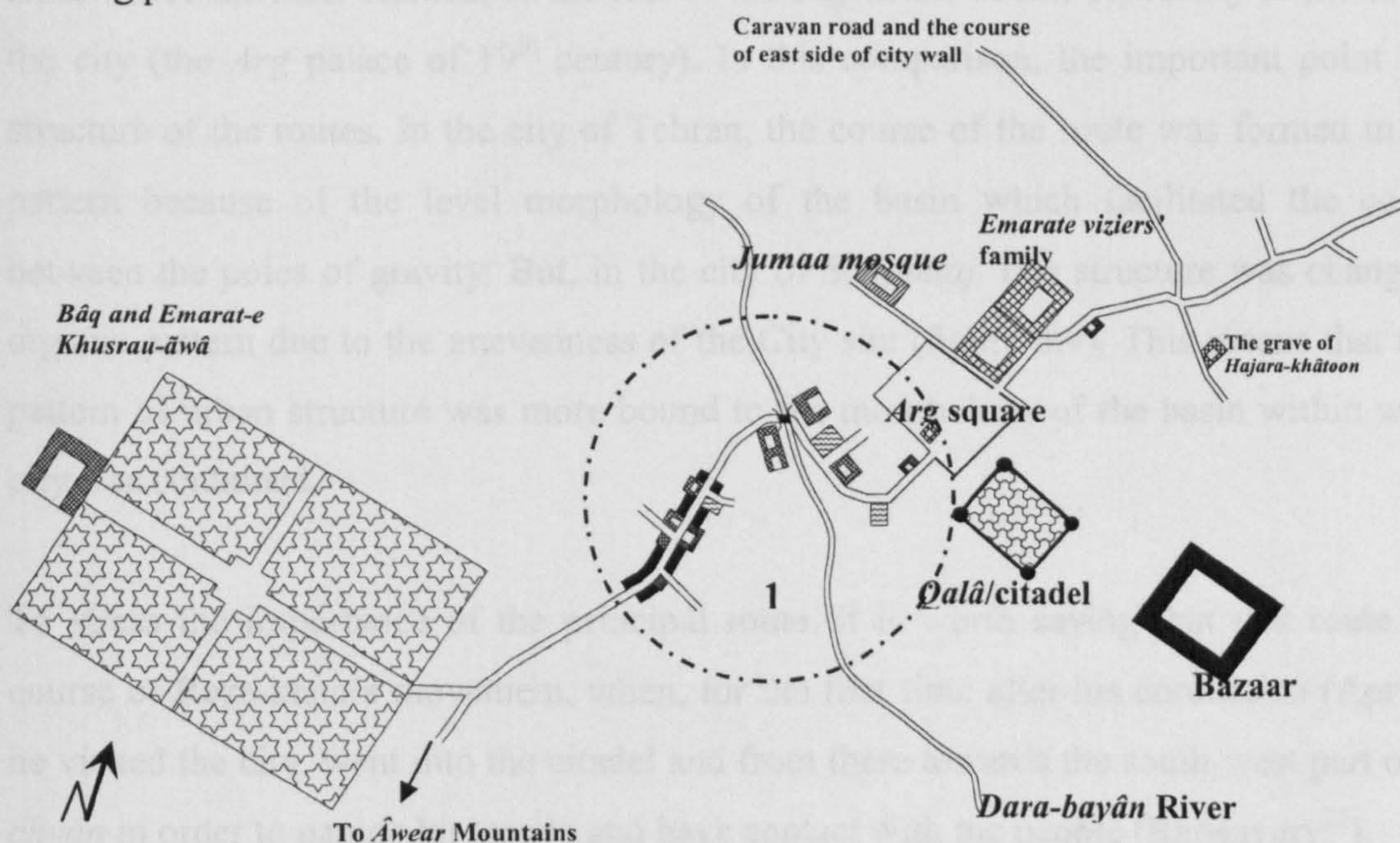


Figure 6. 8. The course of the principal route across the City

It led from northeast to southwest, to the *Bâq and Emarat-e Khusrau-âwâ*, along which the prominent features of the City evolved except the element of main bazaar. 1) This area will be enlarged to show details of spaces along the route.

¹⁴ Apart from the conjunction line of different activities along the route, we can assume a meeting place of people, as a stopping point on the way towards the *Âwear Mountains* and vice versa to the City.

The ruler usually spent the summer close to the slopes of *Âwear Mountain* in the south of the city where the main greenery and recreational spaces were located. His main route towards this site, leading from the southern gate of the ruling class quarter, can be recognised as an important factor in structuring this quarter, and the backbone of the social and physical fabric of the quarter. Since this route can be linked to the first main part of the principal route of the city leading from northern pathway to the square in front of the *Qalâ*, it can be recognised, in line with the view of Madanipour (1998: 226), who indicated that “the continuity in [the principal route] of urban structure signifies the power relations focused on the [ruler], as the highest authority who was far above any other member of the administration and played a personal key role in most important affairs of the [region],” as more important in the urban structure.

To some extent, the principal route referred to above and its link with the core of the city (*Qalâ*) can be compared with the axial structure of Tehran leading from the northernmost area, where the ruler resided, to the rest of the city in the south, especially to the old part of the city (the *Arg* palace of 19th century). In this comparison, the important point is in the structure of the routes. In the city of Tehran, the course of the route was formed in an axial pattern because of the level morphology of the basin which facilitated the connection between the poles of gravity. But, in the city of *Sanandaj*, this structure was changed to an organic pattern due to the unevenness of the City site (figure 6.9). This means that the axial pattern of urban structure was more bound to the morphology of the basin within which the city was contained.

To stress the importance of the principal route, it is worth saying that this route was the course of Reza-khan’s movement, when, for the first time after his coronation (April 1926), he visited the city, went into the citadel and from there towards the south-west part of *Qatâr-chyân* in order to parade his troops and have contact with the people (Rangavary¹⁵).

¹⁵ Interviewed 1999

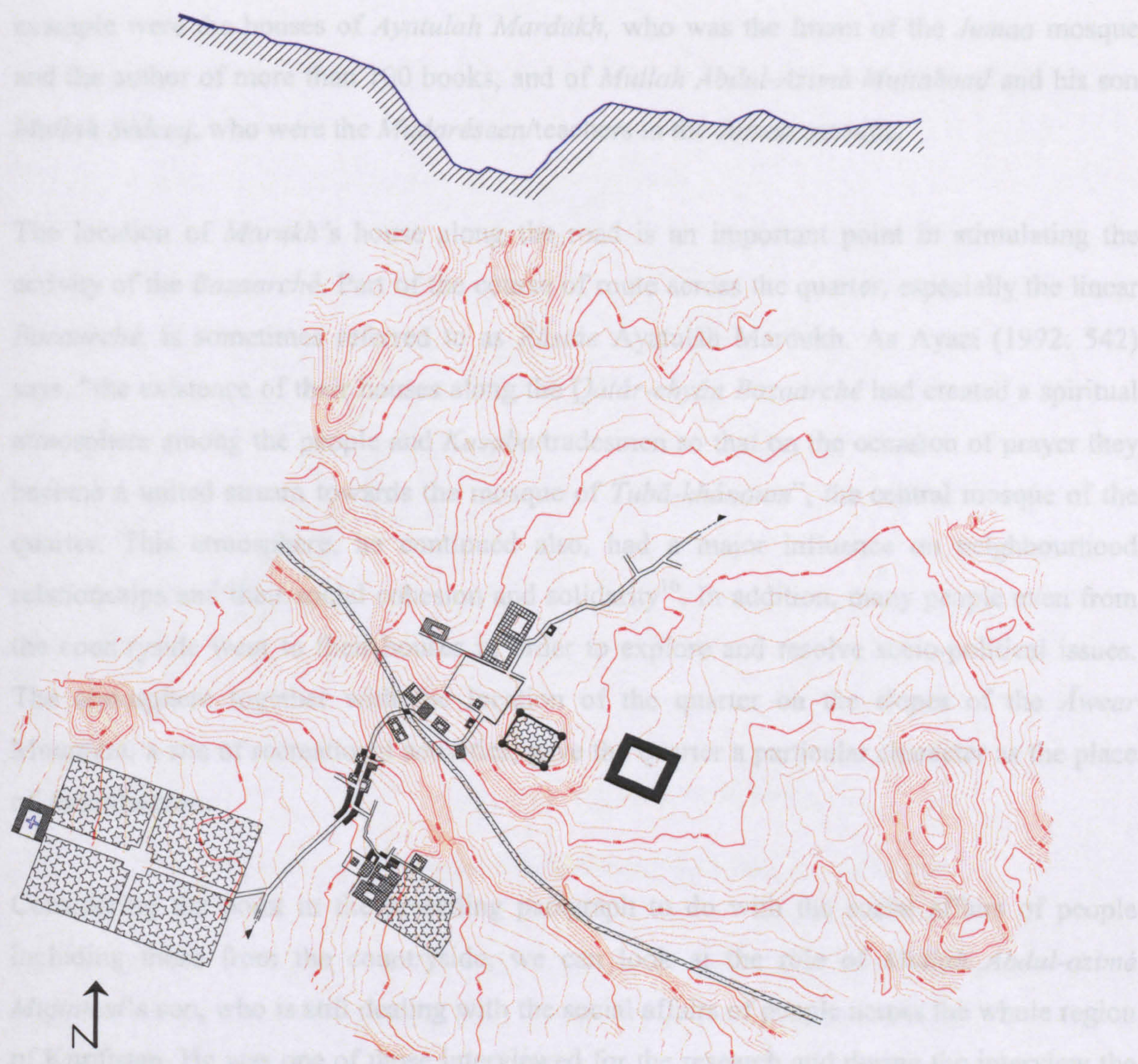


Figure 6. 9. Topographical features of the city site and the course of principal route and the city's main urban elements, source: topography was sketched by Mr. Shahnazi

The above section is from the course of principal route.

Apart from the role of the ruler in defining the spatial arrangement of the principal route and centrality, as explained in the previous section, we can look at intermediate agents (Madanipour 1998). These agents were called *Ulamâ*. "As they belonged themselves to different classes", they acted as mediators between ruler and ruled, and in linking the parochial groups together (Lapidus 1967: 114). In spatial terms, the role of these agents can be traced through the location of the mosque in forming the gravity point of the route, which facilitated the location of the *Qatâr-chyan Bazaarché*, and particularly the houses of the outstanding *Ulamâ* of the city along that route (figure 6.8). Their roles - *Ulamâ*- were not restricted to the quarter, they acted across the city and even the whole region. Here for

example were the houses of *Ayatulah Mardukh*, who was the Imam of the *Jumaa* mosque and the author of more than 100 books, and of *Mullah Abdul-Azimé Mujahead* and his son *Mullah Sédeeq*, who were the *Mudaréseen*/teachers in the *Jumaa* mosque.

The location of *Marukh*'s house along the road is an important point in stimulating the activity of the *Bazaarché*. Part of the course of route across the quarter, especially the linear *Bazaarché*, is sometimes referred to as *Râstâe Ayatulâh Mardukh*. As Ayazi (1992: 542) says, "the existence of their houses along the *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché* had created a spiritual atmosphere among the people and *Kasaba*/tradesmen so that on the occasion of prayer they became a united stream towards the mosque of *Tubâ-khânoum*", the central mosque of the quarter. This atmosphere, he continued also, had a major influence on neighbourhood relationships and their social cohesion and solidarity¹⁶. In addition, many people even from the countryside went to their houses in order to explore and resolve socio-political issues. The atmosphere together with the location of the quarter on the slopes of the *Âwear* Mountain, a site of recreational activities, gave the quarter a particular character as the place of *Janat*/heaven.

Considering the point in the preceding paragraph to do with the social affairs of people including those from the countryside, we can look at the role of *Mullah Abdul-azimé Mujahead*'s son, who is still dealing with the social affairs of people across the whole region of Kurdistan. He was one of those interviewed for the research and during the interview the way people's problems were dealt with was recorded. One of his visitors, who came from the city of *Kâmyârân* to the south of *Sanandaj* towards the city of *Kirmânshâh*, wanted the views of *Mujtahedi* on a problem among heirs. After some discussion, he wrote down his comments as the footnote to a letter on the theme of inheritance. Then a woman came and explained her case concerning an amount of money borrowed by her husband. As the purpose of loan was different from what her husband intended to do with, she asked him his opinion about that change in use of the loan and whether it was right or not?

¹⁶ As explained in previous chapter, the *Ulamâ* had also a major role in solidarity of the City population against unexpected action from the ruler. This was witnessed in the War of the Caravansary in 1855.

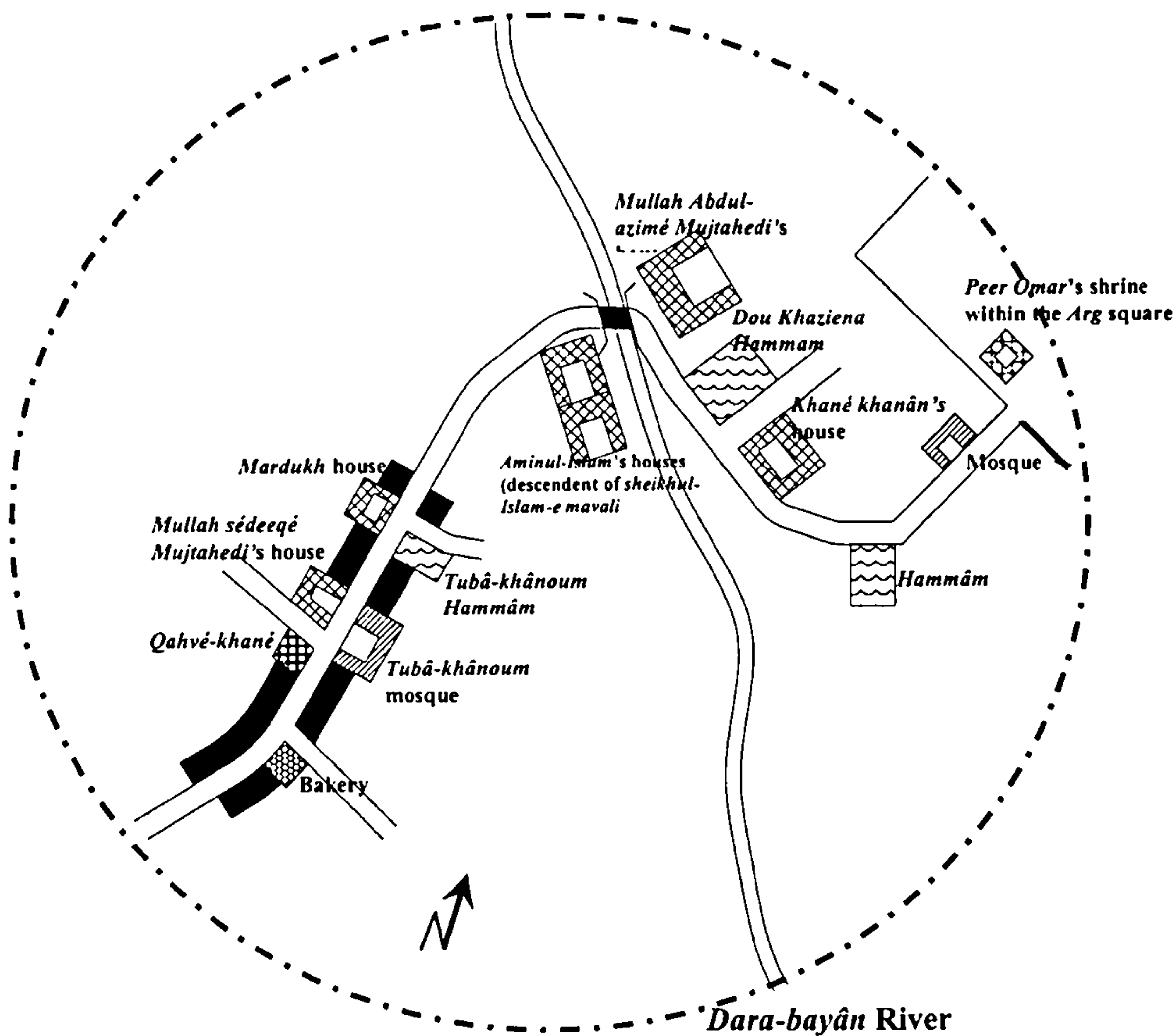


Figure 6. 10. The details of main features along the principal route

Due to the structuring role of the linear *Bazaarché*, especially as a continuation of the principal route in connecting the quarter to the City as a whole, that role can be stressed as the linear *Bazaarché* acting as a line merging the streams of life from two parts and then leading them towards the main parts of the City, to the congressional mosque through the southern gate of the inner-*shâr*/town or along the wall towards the main focus of the City - the bazaar (7.36). Generally, the connection to the bazaar was bound to the structure of the place, both natural and man-made, so that it was formed in defined spaces which facilitated a transition of the traffic from the quarters towards the bazaar with minimum intrusion into the territory of other quarters. This structure reveals that each quarter had a defined boundary which had an obvious functional importance for its inhabitants, especially in case of conflict, for instance the War of the Quarters¹⁷. Apart from the structure of nature in defining a

¹⁷ As explained above the powerful family of the *Wakils* always acted on the side of *Ardalâns*' adversaries. Thus, the political attitude of the people living in these two quarters (*Qatâr-chyân* and *Miyân-qalâ*) might be divergent and in some periods absolutely opposed (Vasilyeva 2000). Thus, it can be conceived that the war between quarters, witnessed by Ayazi (1992), might have been rooted in the attitudes of these two opposing

particular boundary for the quarters, profession was another factor which had a great influence on the formation and presence of the boundary in the quarters. For instance, briefly moving outside the main theme of this chapter, the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, the quarter of the *Khâns* the ruling class – those who determined the political fate of the region – in addition to the governor's court located on the top of a hill with a strongly fortified wall, was also surrounded by another fortified wall as a symbol of wealth and power in order to define the necessary boundary from the commoners.

From the point of view of boundary, the case of *Qatâr-chyân* quarter is somewhat different from the other quarters. Here, the terrain facilitated a particular boundary or edge for the settlements, this was especially so for the *Dara-byân* River. The course of this river together with the other socio-spatial factors – the existence of *Wakils'* family, the outstanding *Ulamâ*, the *Galadâries'* family, and a part of principal route which contained an active linear *Bazaarché* – enabled the quarter to be based on a self-reliant structure. These enabling points created a strong sense of place among the residents of the quarter to such an extent that they often differentiated themselves from the other quarters. For example, one of the interviewees, *Monaghi*¹⁸, recalls the following quotation from elderly people of the quarter:

When they wanted to go to the main City, they usually said “let's go to the city”.

This statement, made clear their sense of separation from the city. It means that the inhabitants of the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* did not consider it as a part of the City but, rather, as an independent settlement.

More important is the War of the Quarters within which the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* acted as an independent entity against the other quarters, mostly the quarters of the *Khâns*/nobles and *Jawr-âwâ* (the *Khân*'s servants). As explained in the chapter on the historical background, in most of the conflicts, the quarter was in opposition to one or other of the quarters. In highlighting this sense of independence and detachment of the quarter from the city, it is

factions, because most of the clashes were between the youths of *Qatâr-chyân*, as the followers of *Wakil*'s family, and the people of *Jawr-âwâ*, as the servants of the ruling house.

¹⁸ Interviewed (25.08.2004), in the past he was a craftsman - a cobbler - in the main bazaar. Now, he is a photographer and around 60 years old.

interesting to mention another quotation cited by one of the interviewees, *Ostâd Rashid Azhir*¹⁹:

The residents of *Qatar-chyân* consulted *Âyatulâh Mardukh* about the destruction of the bridge over the river of *Dara-byân* in order to cut any link with the other parts of the city.

6.2.3.2. Second: The *Wakil* family

Considering the findings of previous section, the next structuring element of the quarter is the striking area inhabited by the *Wakil* family in the east part of the quarter. As explained earlier, this family was one of the noble families and was driven out of the quarter of the ruling classes because of conflict with the *Wâli*²⁰. Their living in this part formed the secondary centre for the quarter, adjacent to their group of mansions, called *Bazaarchâe Wakil*, which contained the main elements of a traditional Iranian quarter except for the building of an *Husayniyyih*.

Considering the aerial photo of 1957 (figure 6.9), especially the clear separation of the quarter into two parts by the course of principal route crossing it like a long crack in the compact form of the settlements, the important point is that the west part of the quarter which covered a greater area, did not possess a spatial structure similar to the *Wakil Bazaarché*. Moreover, consistent with the explanations in the previous section, the presence of the *Wakil* family influenced the urban grain of nearby houses (figure 6.11). In comparison with other houses across the quarter, they have a somewhat more coarse-grained structure. Furthermore, at first glance the structure of the quarter, especially in the aerial photo of 1957, the group of mansions resembles another seat of power which was to some degree set back from the commoners through a special boundary with two sides free of buildings, maintaining an extensive view towards the garden to the front and to the green spaces on the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains to the south.

From the above perspectives, the presence of the *Wakil* family in the quarter together with the adjacent large houses can be compared with the seat of power and the ruling house of the City as a whole. This was a real city set alongside the main City and separated by the river.

¹⁹ Interview 06.09.2003, He is a master builder above 80 years old. He worked on the ground floor of the municipal building – one of the buildings opposite the *Jumaa* Mosque – of which the construction dates back to the period of Reza Khan (1921-1941).

²⁰ As Mardukh (2000) indicated, this family was in charge of the city's agency for a long time and they felt themselves to deserve possess the deputy position of the Kurdistan government more than the family of the *Wazieris*.

The features mentioned, again totally support the view that in traditional cities such as *Sanandaj* the role of power relations had a major influence on the structure of place.

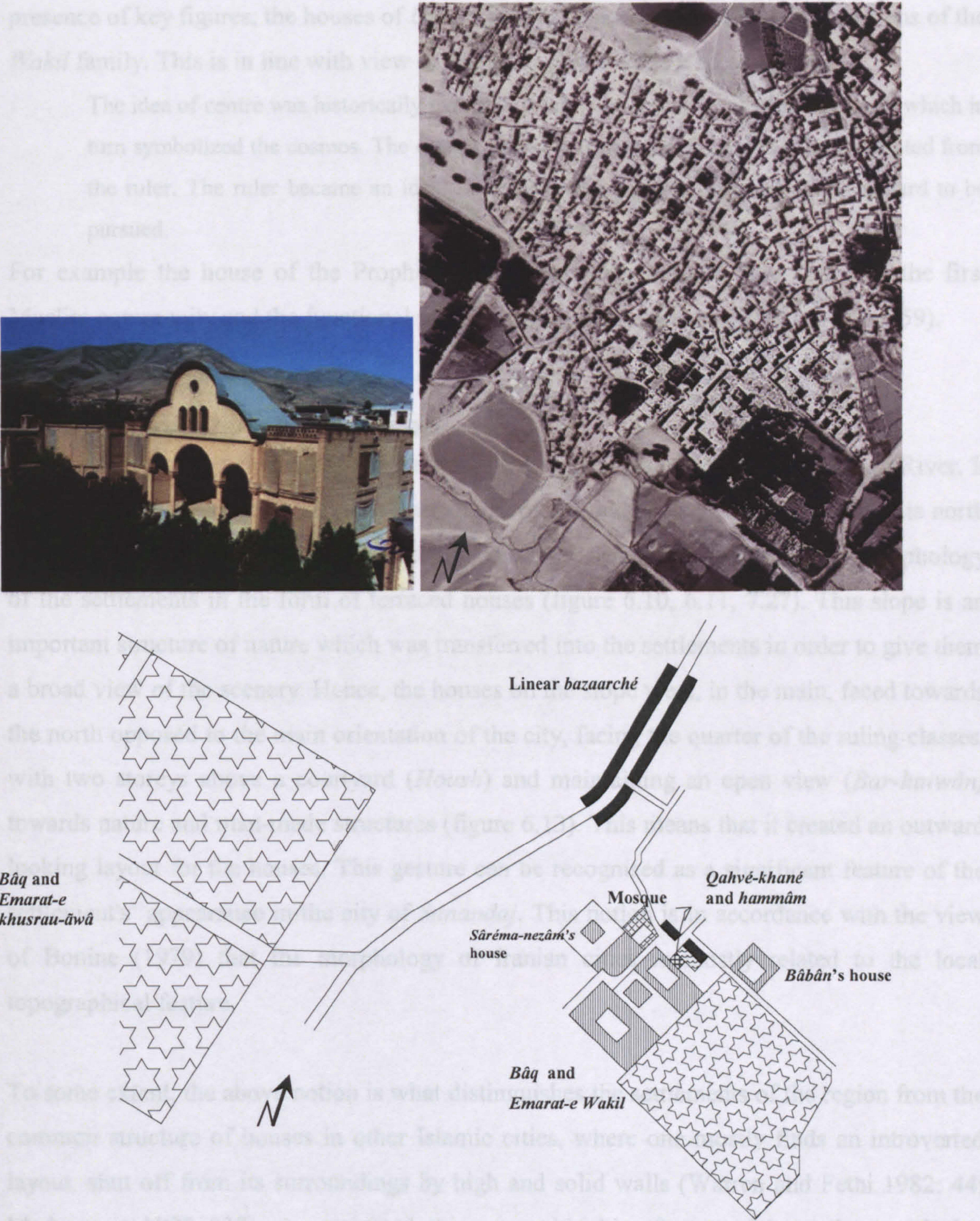


Figure 6. 11. The mansions of the *Wakil* family as the second structuring element of the quarter

Sources: aerial photograph from *Sâzmân-é Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957, Photo from Sanandaj.com

More importantly, the comparison of the two structuring elements mentioned makes clear that the place of gravity or the concept of centre (merging points) was mainly bound to the presence of key figures, the houses of *Ulamâ* in the linear *Bazaarché* and the mansions of the *Wakil* family. This is in line with view of Tjahjono (1989: 233) who says that:

The idea of centre was historically manifested in the ruler who represented the state which in turn symbolized the cosmos. The cosmic power was oriented to, stored in, and radiated from the ruler. The ruler became an ideal to be followed, and his dwelling set a standard to be pursued.

For example the house of the Prophet in Medina which became “the centre of the first Muslim community and the functional prototype of all later mosques” (Bianca 2000: 59).

6.2.3.3. Third: *Dara-bayân* River

The third structuring element of the quarter is the valley created by the *Dara-bayân* River. It served as a visible edge to define a clear image of the quarter’s territory, especially its north side facing the quarter of the ruling classes. The river’s presence influenced the morphology of the settlements in the form of terraced houses (figure 6.10, 6.11, 7.27). This slope is an important structure of nature which was transferred into the settlements in order to give them a broad view of the scenery. Hence, the houses on the slope were, in the main, faced towards the north opposed to the main orientation of the city, facing the quarter of the ruling classes, with two storeys above a courtyard (*Housh*) and maintaining an open view (*Bar-haiwân*) towards nature and man-made structures (figure 6.13). This means that it created an outward looking layout for the houses. This gesture can be recognised as a significant feature of the settlement’s appearance in the city of *Sanandaj*. This notion is in accordance with the view of Bonine (1979) that the morphology of Iranian cities is mostly related to the local topographical feature.

To some extent, the above notion is what distinguishes the settlements of the region from the common structure of houses in other Islamic cities, where one mostly finds an introverted layout, shut off from its surroundings by high and solid walls (Warren and Fethi 1982: 44; Madanipour 1998: 237). As explained, this outward looking feature of the settlements is due to the structure of the place bound to the variation in the surface relief which created direction and defined spaces in the form of an articulate order.

From the above points, one may think that variation in the surface relief of the terrain was the main motivating factor in the outward looking structure of the settlements in the City, especially the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*. Although, this factor is a basic point which created some similarities among the appearance of settlements in mountain areas of Iran with different socio-cultural backgrounds, we should not ignore socio-cultural circumstances which made Kurdish society different from surrounding cultures - Arab, Turk, and Persian. This factor will be discussed further in the following chapter which deals mostly with the social dimension of the place under the title of public domains of the quarter.

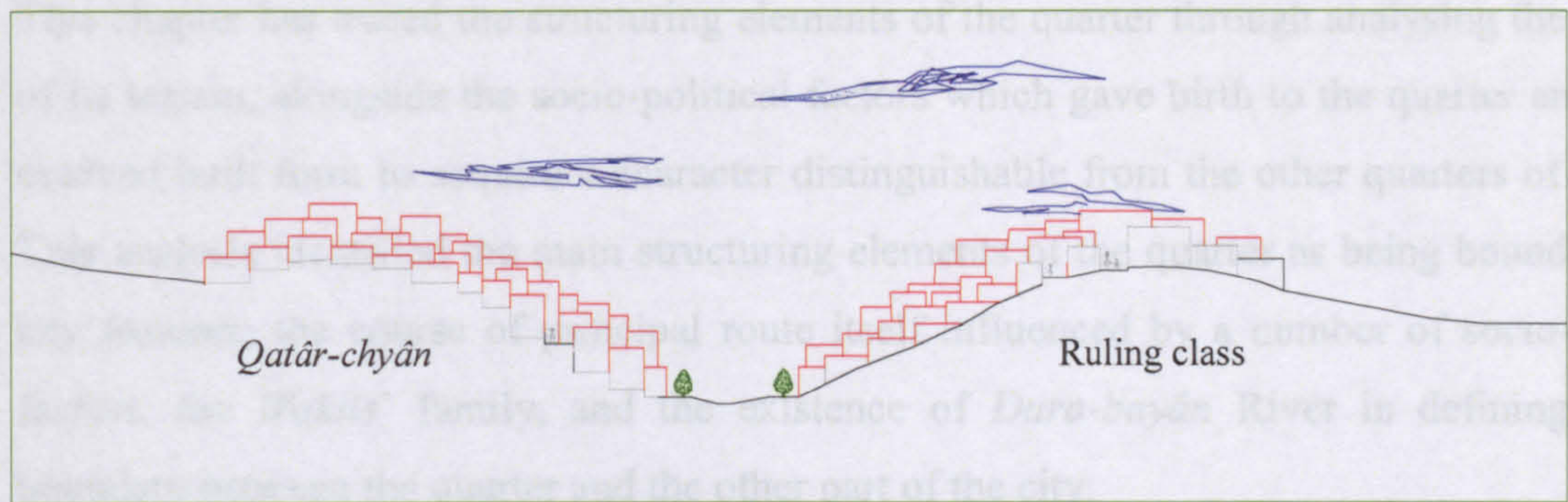
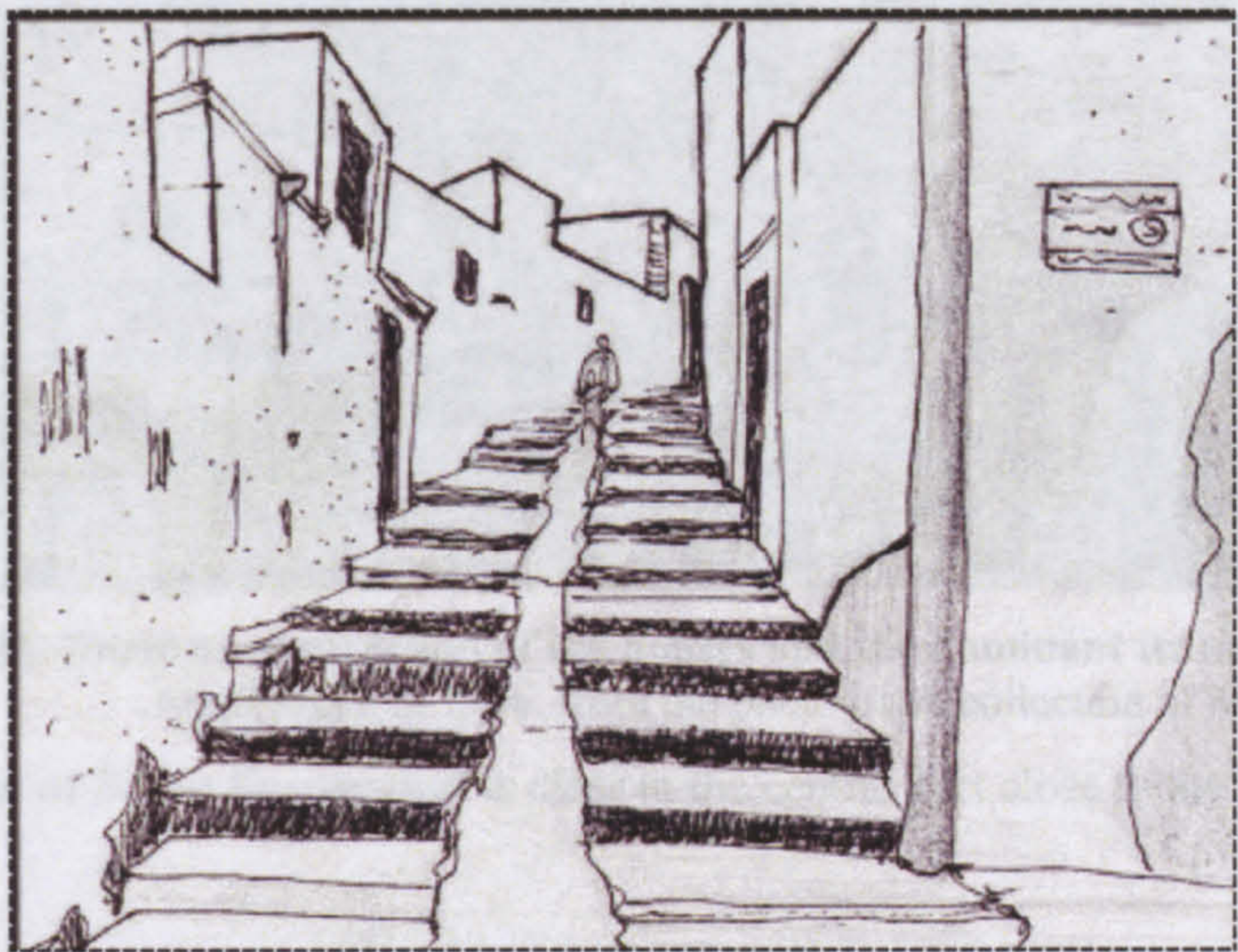


Figure 6. 12. The slope of *Dara-bayân* (the valley of Bayân) as the third structuring element of the quarter, source: Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi. 2003

This natural feature contextualised the form of terraced houses

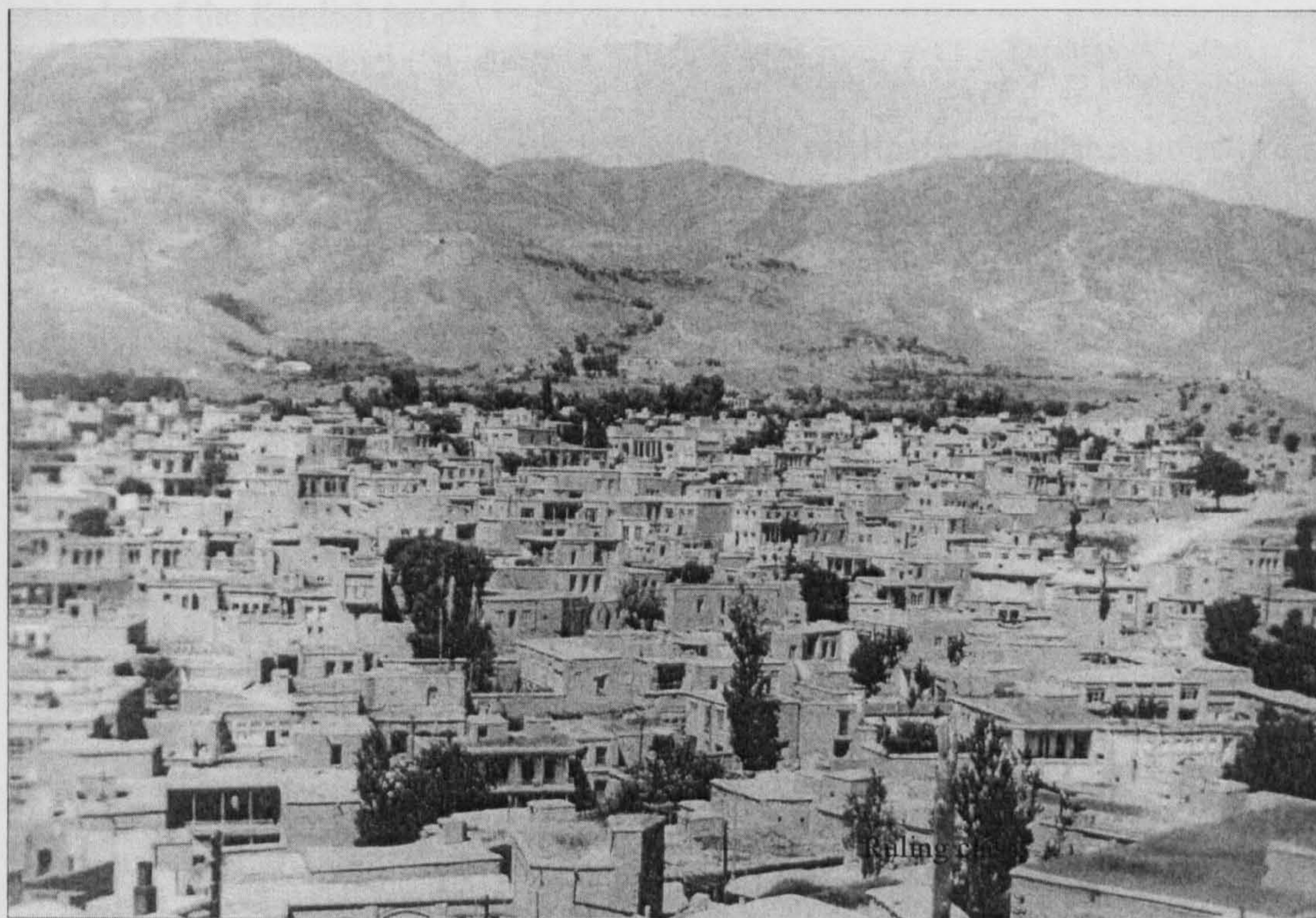


Figure 6. 13. Northward direction of the houses and the dominant feature of the *Bar-haiwân*, source: Ayazi taken in 1946, from the photograph collection of Mr. Gâzarâni

The image of *Bâq-e Kusrau-âwâ* is clear in the central part close to the slopes of *Âwear* Mountains.

6.3. Conclusion

This chapter has traced the structuring elements of the quarter through analysing the features of its terrain, alongside the socio-political factors which gave birth to the quarter and led its evolved built form to acquire a character distinguishable from the other quarters of the city. This analysis identified the main structuring elements of the quarter as being bound to three key features; the course of principal route itself influenced by a number of socio-political factors, the *Wakils'* family, and the existence of *Dara-bayân* River in defining a clear boundary between the quarter and the other part of the city.

The principal route had a major role in defining the merging points of activities and social life across the City, thus, an active and major *Bazaarché* evolved there. On other side, the presence of the *Wakil* family made another point of reference for social activities in the quarter and even the City. The course of *Dara-bayân* River through the north part of the quarter gave rise to a visible image through the presence of the architectural element of *Bar-haiwân* - verandas - in structure of the settlements. As will be discussed in the following

chapter, apart from the role of nature as form giver, this concept has a direct link with the attitudes of the Kurdish people to privacy.

In the following chapters the above points will be references for further investigation of the details of the built form found in the public and private spaces of the quarter.

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7.1. Introduction

After analysing the structuring elements of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, we follow with our discussion of two domains - public and private spaces - of the built form encompassing the social life of the quarter in order to find how the society organized itself in the quarter. This will be examined from both social and physical dimensions to approach the questions of the research concerning the design principles that underlie the organisation between those realms and the ideas and beliefs which made them applicable in that society.

As most of the literature concerning Islamic cities dealt predominantly with the male's domain in the city, in this chapter, the woman's domain is highlighted and the main points are organised in relation to the role of women in the social life of the selected quarter within the Kurdish city of *Sanandaj*.

Considering the structure adopted for organisation of the thesis, starting from macro to micro levels, first we approach the public spaces of the selected quarter, the main domain of social life, and move inward to the private spaces of the houses. Between the two the clustering of houses will be analysed to discover the manner of aggregation, neighbourhood structure and the transition to the private domain. The private domain itself is examined in the next chapter.

7.2. Public domain and social factors

Regardless of the previous chapter, which explored the domain of the quarter's social life in relation to the two centres where the aggregation of different activities enhanced the essence of social life, the notion of public life and its physical manifestation in the Quarter must be traced from two contexts because of the nature of the research which deals mainly with Kurdish culture located within the macro-context of Islamic-Iranian cities. One is from the Islamic rules in advocating its members to spend their leisure times concerned with the affairs of the whole community, the second is from the socio-cultural and environmental circumstances which necessitated the selected society adapt themselves with particular social activities.

7.2.1. First context: Religious Elements

For the first context, similar to other Islamic cities and derived from the notion of Islam in promoting the nature of social life among its followers, the presence of the mosque, as a

main daily public gathering for adult Muslims boosted the nature of social life among the inhabitants of the quarter (Figure 7.1). The effect of the mosques was enhanced by the presence of the related elements of *Hammâm* (public bathhouse) “a place to provide the sacred ablution required prior to praying” (Kheirabadi 1991: 82) and the houses of *Ulamâ*, a place of knowledge to resolve problems and disputes among the inhabitants.

Islamic principles require that each Muslim pray five times a day. This imperative and the fact that the spiritual value of praying collectively, which is greater than individual prayer, necessitated daily gathering so that the inhabitants might meet each other five times a day.

Prayers said in a mosque are twenty-five times more effective than those said elsewhere (Gibb and Kramers cited in Kheirabadi 1991: 66).

In the light of this idea, accessibility was an important point so that the mosques were mostly located at the merging points or on routes accessible a few minutes walking distance from the houses.

That point also enabled the mosques to be one of the main public places of the quarters insomuch as some of them blend into the public spaces of the adjacent streets and their courtyard acted as a *Guzar* (street) in connecting two lines of *Guzar*. Connected with this function, there is a mosque called *Mezgat-e Dou-Dergâ* (the mosque of two gates) in the quarter of the ruling class. This is conceived by Tavassoli and Bonyadi (1992: 46) “as a prominent physical expression of the mosque’ concept as the house of God, the house which belongs to all the people”. They present evidences from Iranian cities, especially concerning the *Jumaa* mosques. In comparison, the city of *Sanandaj* contained this spatial structure in the mosques located in the quarters not just in the *Jumaa* mosque. More importantly, the mosques’ gates in *Sanandaj* are often open to the people from early morning until late evening. This was recognised by Ayazi (1992) as peculiar to the city of *Sannadaj* because in other Iranian cities the mosque is usually closed after each prayer time¹.

Hence, the quarters’ mosques acted as centres for people to gather and, thus, to discuss common problems related to the quarter. This is in parallel to the view of Sukhareva (quoted

¹ The Shiite people usually gather at the mosque three times a day not five times because they often pray early morning (*Fajr*), *Zuhr* (noon) and *Maghrib* (sunset). Two other times (*Asr*/afternoon and *Isha*/late evening) usually are combined with *Zuhr* and *Maghrib*.

in Vasilyeva 2000: 8) who notes that “the only place where permanent communication between the male populations could take place was a mosque”.

The frequent meeting by local people in the mosques could sustain the spirit of neighbourhood community and strengthened social cohesion among them. These mosques in the quarters and the market place were practically recognised as exclusive spaces which promoted “the quarter’s social and spatial cohesion” (Madanipour 2003: 212). Regarding that point, Rumi wrote that:

the mosques were built to promote social integration and solidarity.

That is the secret of why mosques were erected, so that the inhabitants of the parish might gather there and greater mercy and profit ensue. (Jalal al-Din Rumi, quoted in Madanipour 2003: 210)

In the city of *Sanandaj*, this frequency of meeting under the umbrella of common beliefs together with the socio-cultural circumstances of the Kurdish context, promoted the concept of the neighbour as a relative and someone closer than a brother or sister. The custom among the old residents of *Sanandaj* and respecting the view of prophet², was to regard a neighbour as close family to such an extent that one could interact easily and share many activities with him. The importance of neighbour relationships, especially in the past life of the city, led to writing of many elegies in respect of them. For example, (Haqshenas 1999), who recounted his life history in poetry and was one of the interviewees of the research, wrote that, there was a great trust among the neighbours so much so that the gates of their houses were often open for their easy socializing. This means a great sense of collaboration and togetherness which ‘responded to the lack of adequate laws and regulations for the security of its inhabitants’ (Sultanzadeh 1989: 369). And, in another view, it compressed the structure of quarter to narrow curved lines and resulted in minimum public spaces (Madanipour 2003: 212). This is seen by Rainer (1977: 206) as the “human scale” of built form which presents an element of “livableness and neighbourhood”. That is why we cannot agree with the view of Southall (1998: 229) who wrote that, “irregular shaped quarters and their densely packed form took their basic solidarity from pervasive violence and insecurity which threatened everyone and strengthened the ties between them”. Note that the evidence presented in the

² The Prophet, blessings and peace be on him, once said that the right of the neighbour were so strongly emphasized by the angel Gabriel that he thought neighbours might even share one’s inheritance. (*Bukhari and Muslim quoted in <http://www.muslimtv.ca/lifestyle.php?view=socialorder>*)

previous chapter showed that the City comprised quarters with differing layouts; from the complicated form in the quarter of the bazaar to the rectangular form in the quarter of *Chahâr-Bâq*. The morphological features of security defined in the quarter of bazaar were mainly due to the social background of its inhabitants which was made up of the City's religious minorities. Equally the War between the Quarters mentioned earlier was not based on a religious theme like that of other Iranian conflicts. Here conflict was usually stimulated by political conflicts between the ruling class, in the quarter of *Miyân-qalâ*, and the *Wakils'* family settled in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter. The clashes between their followers usually took place on a selected site in the suburb outside the residential quarters.

In the selected quarter, the convergence of those elements (mosque, *Hammâm* and the houses of *Ulamâ*) along the principal route, the route which was the main course of movement for the ruler and his relatives to their summer houses and a transit way for commoners (especially the people of other quarters) towards the recreational spaces on the slopes of the *Âwear* Mountains, created a particular spiritual dimension along the course of the *Bazaarché* and even across the quarter. In addition to the occasions of daily prayer, which manifested the unity of the people towards the central mosque by the first call of the muezzin, "the spiritual dimension created had an interesting role on the consolidation of the people to respect each other on the occasions of birth, marriage, death, and religious and national festivals" (Ayazi 1992: 542). More important is its influence on the neighbourhood relationships as it consolidated them more than in other quarters, and even the quarters of other Iranian cities. The evidence for this kind of relationships can be traced from the features of the existing settlements and their aggregation in a more compact form and the opinions of the interviewees, who have background knowledge of the past life of the quarter. This knowledge will be explained carefully in the following discussion. For example, the importance of the mosque's function as a main stimulus to the gathering of people and their togetherness in a unified community can be seen in the words of *Sheikh-Abrahim*³.

During each daily prayer, the mosque of *Tubâ-khânoum* (the central mosque of the quarter located in the linear *Bazaarché*) was crowded by the young and adults of the quarter. On those great occasions, the unity of the people was to such an extent that if somebody was absent among us we usually asked somebody to call on him in his house and check the reason for non-attendance because we were used to seeing and to being aware of each other's circumstances in the daily prayers. Apart from this, we usually had a discussion about the

³ Interviewed (17.06.2004)

affairs of the quarter. For example, if somebody had a problem and his close neighbour was aware of it, the neighbour brought up the case and we tried to solve the problem by recommendation of the Imam or other elders of the quarter. The regular discussions were about the poor people and how to help them by gathering donations. In this regard, if somebody was holding a ceremony for his daughter or son (the case of marriage), his close neighbours consulted with the Imam about it and then it was announced the people as a subject of the day for any help and collaboration.

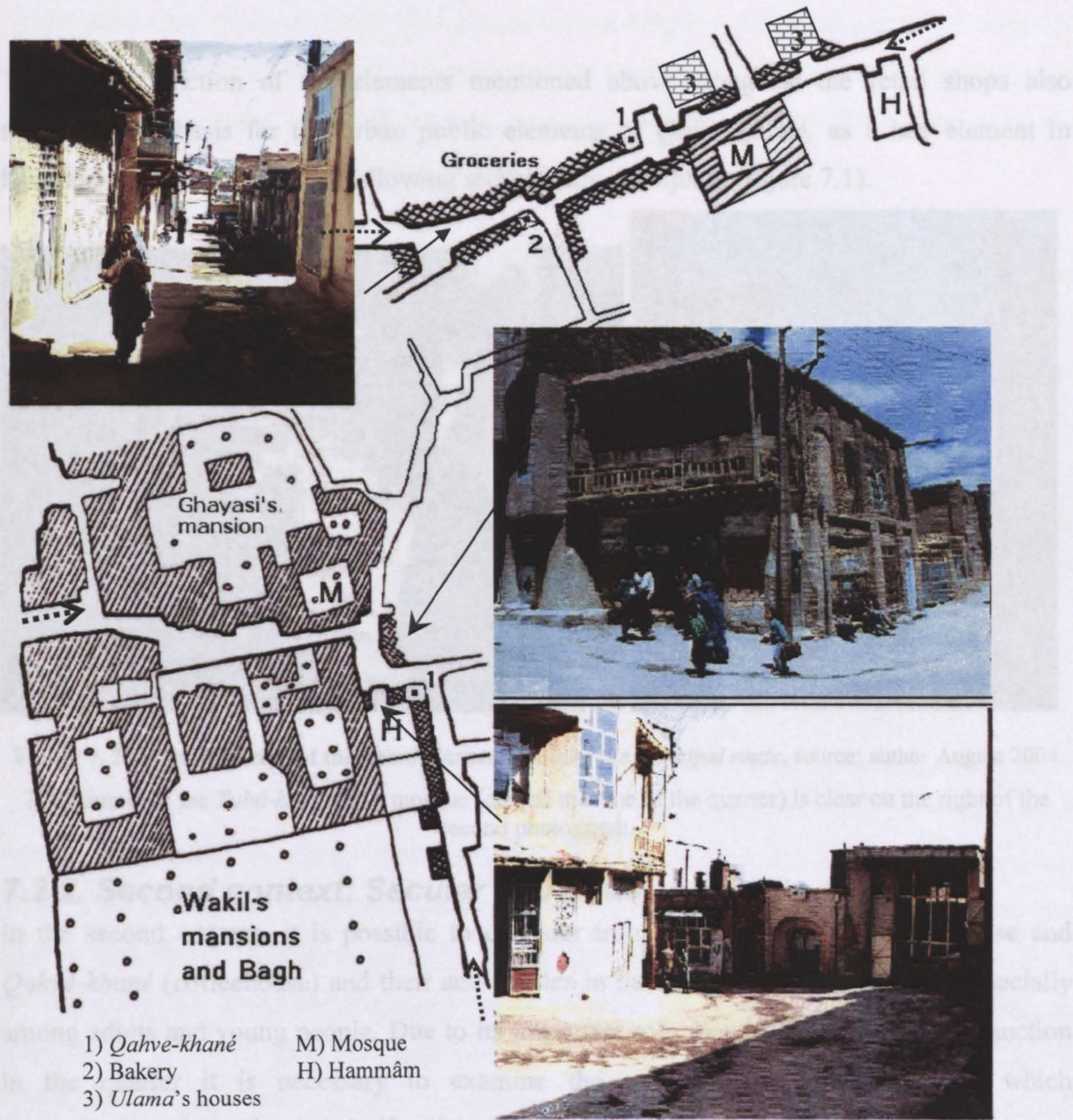


Figure 7. 1. The *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché* and its relation with the secondary centre, *Wakil's Bazaarché*
source: author august 2003

These two centres are the focal points of activities in the quarter where anyone can go freely, under any circumstances.

Although, the above description was more about the potentials of the linear *Bazaarché* along the principal route, the *Wakil's Bazaarché* was also maintained by the religious element of the mosque and its *Hammâm* the complementary place of sacred ablution required prior to attending the mosque. Apart from these elements, there is no evidence of a spiritual atmosphere for this *Bazaarché* due to the lack of *Ulamâ's* houses in its environs (figures 6.11, 7.1).

The public function of the elements mentioned above alongside the retail shops also facilitated the basis for the urban public elements of *Qahve-khané*, as a key element in Kurdish social life, which the following section aims to explain (figure 7.1).

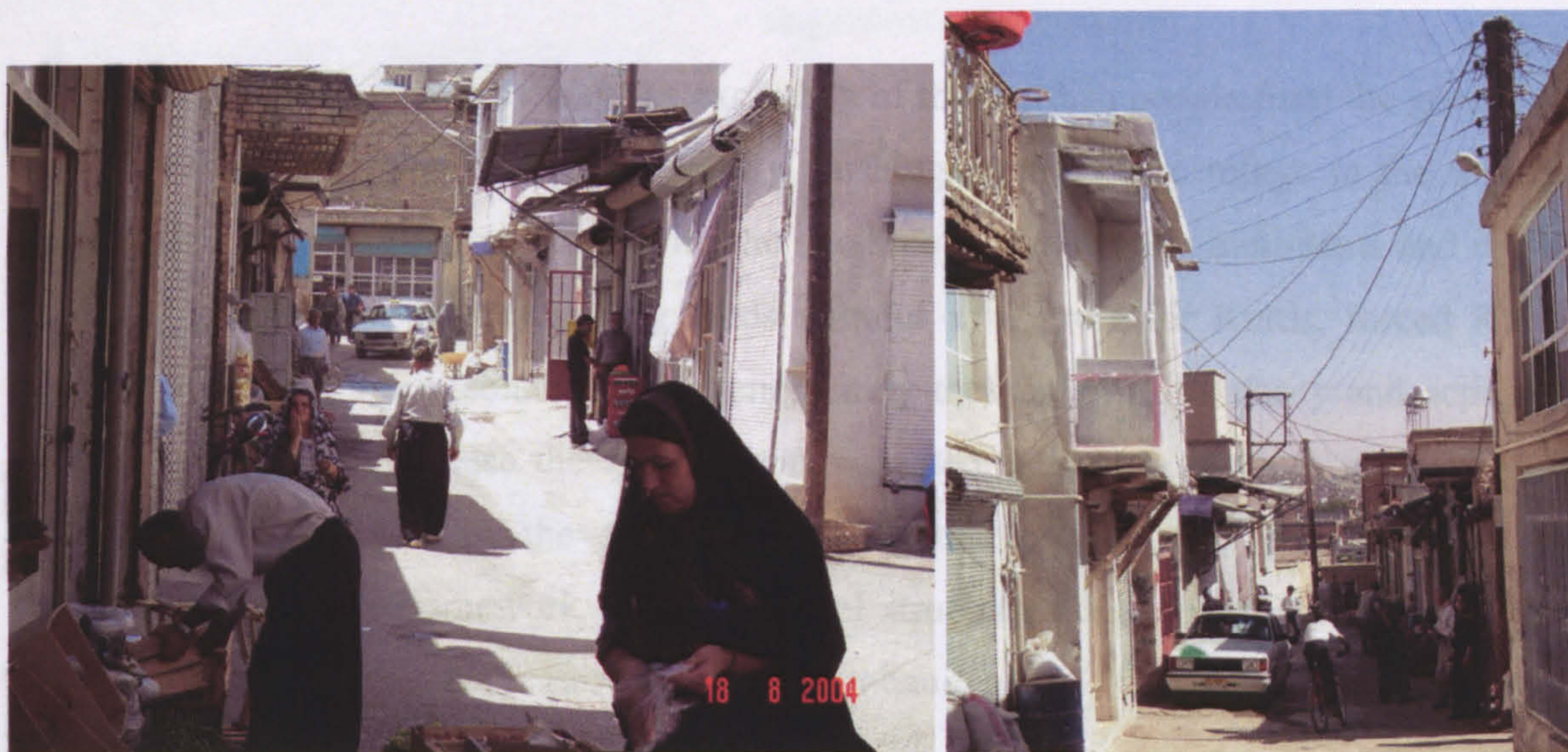


Figure 7. 2. Active function of the linear *Bazaarché* along the principal route, source: author August 2004

The minaret of the *Tubâ-khânoum's* mosque (central mosque of the quarter) is clear on the right of the second photograph.

7.2.2. Second context: Secular Elements

In the second context, it is possible to consider informal societies within the house and *Qahve-khané* (coffeehouse) and their active roles in the social life of the quarter, especially among adults and young people. Due to its important role, before moving on to its function in the quarter it is necessary to examine the notion of social background which contextualised these elements in Kurdish culture.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Kurdish context showed evidence of some distinctive characteristics with respect to the sense of neighbourliness and social cohesion

among its inhabitants. Although, such a unified community structure was recognised by Muslim and non Muslims scholars as flowing from the lessons of Islam extracted from two main sources, the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, in the case of the Kurdish context, apart from these two great sources of the knowledge, the unity must also be looked for in the socio-political and environmental circumstances that have embraced this community for more than two thousand years. In explaining these circumstances, it is necessary to look at history, especially when the Median Empire, as the first unified Iranian government, was recognised as the main descendent of the Kurdish people. It was founded in 728 BC and lasted until 550 BC. The importance of this empire is such that the Kurds usually link their background to it, and base their calendar and main national ceremony on the date of 612 BC⁴. This marks the date that their national existence was first recognised.

The important point of history is in the excluding of the Kurdish people from the government after the Median Empire and, consequently, pushing them to take refuge in the mountain areas of the *Zâgros*. This situation, with the harsh conditions of the mountains and creation of other governments in surrounding lands without a key role for Kurds, forced Kurdish society to become more isolated thus strengthening their internal solidarity and acting in a unified way in order to ease the circumstances created. This means that a strong sense of community was evoked by the determinants of nature and political power leading to a particular conceptual framework of socio-spatial structure which materialized the space in accordance with the cultural requirements of the inhabitants.

The above short review and the explanations presented in the historical background chapter, especially the period before the City foundation when the Mongol invasion led to formation of the mound cities in two parts of Kurdistan (Iraq and Iran), make it possible to trace the form of social life in the Kurdish context. As stated earlier, the four castellated cities (the mobile capitals of *Ardalân* government before their consolidation on the site of the City) were situated in inaccessible places at strategic points of the *Zâgros* Mountains. This form of organisation of the region necessitated the dense pattern of settlements, the piling of buildings upon each other, in order to optimise the restricted space. This pattern structured

⁴ "This is the year that *Cyaxares*, the grandson of *Deioces* (*Diyako*), the first king of the Medes' empire, occupied Nineveh and put an end to the brutality of the Assyrian empire in the lands under its occupation. *Cyaxares*, succeeded in uniting the many Median tribes into a single kingdom".

(<http://www.kurdistanica.com/english/culture/ncharacters/calendar/converter/kurdish.html>)

the place in a stepped configuration so that “one never knows whether one is standing on a floor or on a roof, since the terrace or open space which contains the floor of one house forms the roof of the one below”, the roofs that are indeed the only open spaces of the settlement (Hansen 1960:30) (figure 7.3). In such a structure, social life is usually lived in close relation to the houses due to the form of the landscape. This means that the house was integrated into the domain of public life by inviting the neighbours to take leisure time in the open space in front of the house, the terrace platform which gives the inhabitants the ability to view the distant scenery⁵. In the words of Barth (1953: 105), who refers to this type of informal gathering as “Rooftop society”, this gathering constantly formed a foundation for socialisation among the men of lower class status because of the friendly discussion⁶ among them, a form of interaction which is not suited to the status of nobles.

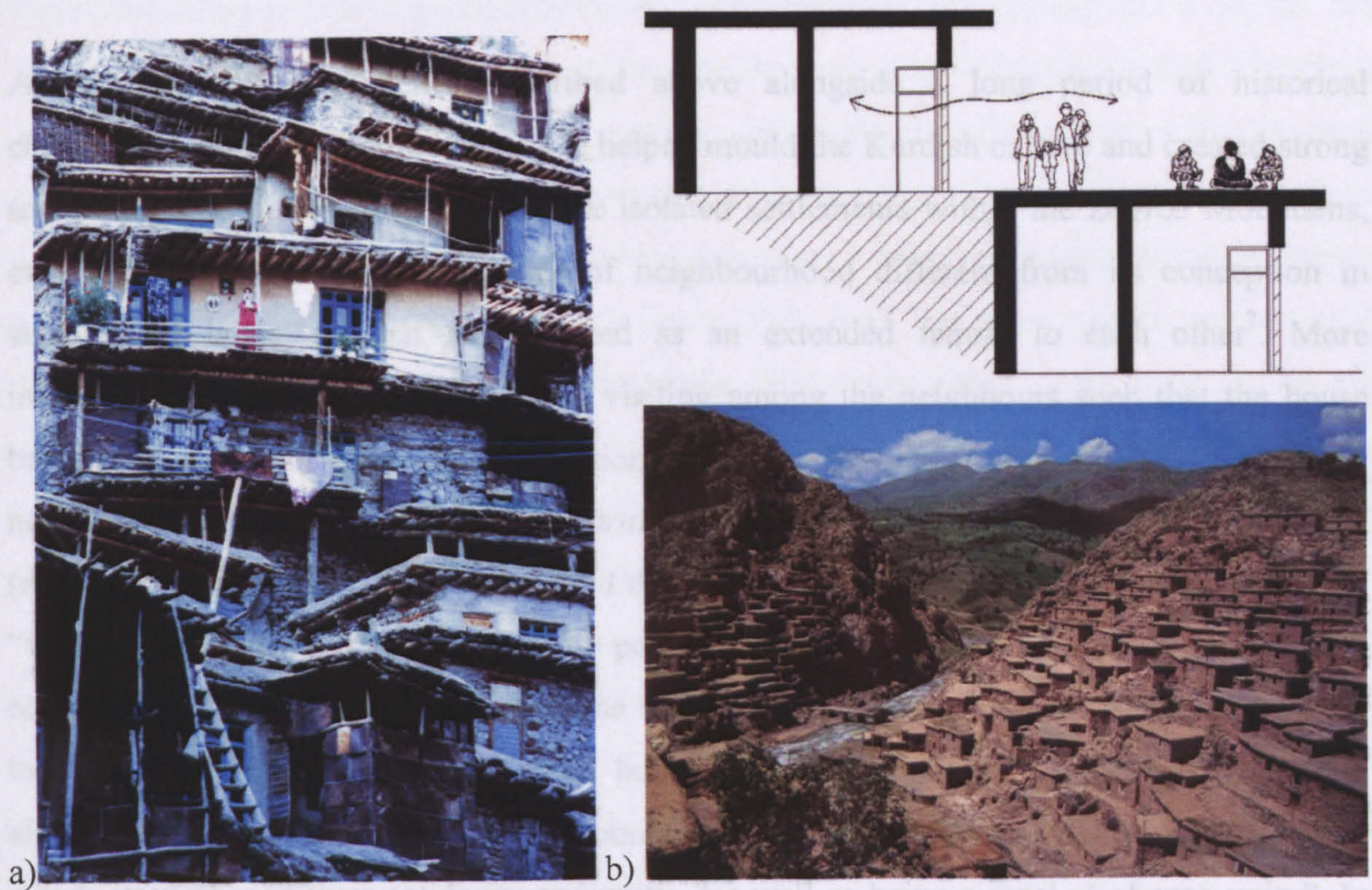


Figure 7. 3. The concept of neighbourhood in Kurdish society [sources: a) photograph from *Sazman-e Meras-e Kurdistan*, b) from Mr. Abdulhamid Hairatsajâdi]

Piling houses on each other in two settlements: first the village of *Tangesar* to the south west of *Sanandaj*, second *Pâlangân* one of the mound cities.

⁵ This concept was transferred/redefined into the structure of houses in the city in the form of a verandah in front of the main part of the house flanked by two rooms overlooking the courtyard in front and the distant landscape. This defines the common plan of the house type called *Sé-bakhshi* (triplex plan) in the city.

⁶ It was called friendly discussion because as Barth (1953: 105) clarifies, “there is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of <<proper>> behaviour easily forgotten”.

While the open space mentioned is a part of the house, it is also the only way for people to move around and at the same time it is the rooftop of the house below. Although the house behind the open space has a boundary to define the territory of the family, due to such intermingling functions it is open to the space before it because, as explained, the space is to some extent defined as a semi-extended part of the house. Due to this concept, the openings of the house, especially those facing the terraced platform, were not fixed above eye level because there the passer-by is not a stranger, his identity is intermediate which can be characterised as a neighbour intimate to the domain of the house. In other words, it means that the house is more intimate with the space before it so that it was not completely cut off from outdoor space and remains in communication. This “imparts a sense of fluidity between the inner and outer order” (Baskaya and Symes 1994: 149).

Accordingly, the coexistence described above alongside a long period of historical challenges with surrounding lands have helped mould the Kurdish culture and created strong social cohesion among its people in the isolated settlements within the *Zâgros* Mountains, especially defining another meaning of neighbourhood different from its conception in surrounding lands, so that Kurds acted as an extended family to each other⁷. More importantly, it maintained a pattern of visiting among the neighbours such that the house became an arena for some of the functions of public life, especially a gathering place for neighbours to spend their leisure time during the evening. For example, Claudius James Rich (quoted in Barth 1953: 103), who visited the city of *Sulaymânia* in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1820, “was surprised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, at the large groups that would congregate in the house of some or in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while talking way into the small hours”. As he continues, this regular gathering alongside the feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of that people which strengthened their solidarity and unity, “as well as being a symbol of such unity”. In addition, it also strengthened the status of hospitality among Kurdish people leading to the

⁷ In line with this interpretation of the life in Kurdish society, an Iraqi Kurd asked an Iranian Kurd folk musician, who was performing a programme in Iraqi Kurdistan for the people of *Sulaymaniah* (one of the great Kurdish city which can be recognised as twin of *Sanandaj*) if he was happy among the Kurds in Iraq? In response, he said it is a strange question because with other Kurds, everywhere in the world, is *Bâwani* Kurd. The word *Bâwani* means the place of reference or safe haven. This concept is mostly applied for married women, who moved to a new place. For her, the house of her father is the main place of reference and refuge from any disputes. This notion is to somewhat similar to the view of Winnicott (1986 quoted in Menin 2003: 5) who believes that “cultural experience is located primarily, in the potential space between a child and the mother when experience has produced in the child a high degree of confidence in the mother, that she will not fail to be there if suddenly needed”.

institution of the guest house (*Mewân-khân* or *Dewâ-khân*) (Leach 1940) as the key element of the Kurdish social life which played an important role in the nurture of Kurdish culture and its transmission between generations (Hassanpour 1996; Kreyenbroek 1996).

Every traveller passing through a village can make a claim to the proverbial Kurdish hospitality (Bruinessen 1978: 82).

7.2.2.1. *Mewân-khâna* (guest house) or *Dewân-khâna* (court)

In some guest-houses the chief and village elders would gather round the fire within a few feet of us and discuss us. This is most tantalising, as one can never quite hear what they are saying (Hay 1921: 55).

Based on the words of Bruinessen (1978: 83), the *Mewân-khâna* was a place of rest for travellers within which they are entertained, given tea and a good meal, and a bed for the night. Apart from this main function, it was also the main place of male socialisation where ‘all male villagers came and sat in the evening, and discussed daily matters before the head of village, “the actions of the various members of the group were coordinated and opinions and plans crystallised”, decisions were taken, the young were taught traditions and etiquette, and entertainment was centralised there’ (Barth 1953: 104). For these reasons, sometimes it was called the *Dewân-khâna* (court) or smoke-filled room. Apart from these, while the people were entertained with tea and cigarettes, singing and storytelling were performed to recall past events, recent events recounted by the guest were discussed, wandering preachers were listened to, and generally an important part of local entertainment took place (Allison 1996). These later points usually happened in the absence of the village’s head man because the atmosphere of the *Mewân-khâna* became a friendly club. Although, entertaining guests and travellers is expensive, they are the carriers of news which benefited the people by exchanging information and gossip.

As an addition to the previous discussion, it is worth saying that the mountainous feature of Kurdistan, which formed an isolated pattern of settlements with few external relations, alongside the harsh weather of winter contextualised the concept of *Mewân-khâna* to ease communication among those settlements. Considering the economic dimension, *Mewân-khâna* was usually managed by the head of settlements who acted as the chairman of those formal gatherings. But generally, considering the social activities attributed to the *Mewân-khâna* Hay (1921: 49) perceived it as “more of a village club than the private property of the headman”.

The importance of the character of the *Dewân-khân* in the social life of the Kurdish people, especially as a symbol of hospitality, was such that rural settlements maintained this concept in the spatial structure of the houses, where one of the rooms, usually on the second floor and the best part of the house, was called the *Dewâ-khân* in respect of the guest and used mostly for the entertainment of guests.

Hospitality is one of the finest features in the Kurds character. It is, it is true, enjoined by their religion, and the same custom prevails amongst other *Muhammadan* areas. But the Kurd has carried it to a fine art (Hay 1921: 49).

The debate concerning rooftop society and the *Mewân-khâna*, was intended to draw attention to the form of public life contextualisation in a Kurdish society and mainly to propose its impacts on the organisation of space, especially on the boundary between the two realms of public and private spaces. As explained in the earlier discussion, it led to a soft boundary between these two realms. This distinguishes the image and structure of Kurdish settlements from other Islamic settlements which maintained a stricter boundary between those realms.

In the city of Sanandaj, the contextualised soft boundary between those realms influenced the organisation of space, for example, the formation of unusual spaces such as the *Maidânché* among neighbours and this diminished the tension between the two realms of public and private spaces and other rules concerning the concept of privacy and overlooking. This point will be discussed in more detail later with examples. More importantly, in line with these notions, the house became an arena for some of the functions of public places, especially a place of gathering for neighbours to spend their leisure times together during the evenings. This function of the house was recognised by Ayazi (1992: 362) as an important aspect of social life in the City, especially in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*, during winter nights.

On the arrival of winter, the nights became the arena of circular invitations among the neighbours within which they became busy with book reading, listening to the narration of the story-teller (*Naqqâl*) or communal games (*Gourwâ-bâzee*, guess who has the ring etc).

Such gatherings make clear that the house alongside other public spaces, mostly the *Qahvé-khané*, functioned to embody the leisure time of the people.

The account of Ayazi is that, in those gatherings the children usually listened to the debates of adults, especially the elderly people. In addition to this, due to the lack of general

broadcasts, the *Naqqâli* was the main form of entertainment for the people, even in the rural areas. Apart from the performances of the *Naqqali* in the *Qahvé-khané* by story-tellers, there were other people knowledgeable in the narration of some local and national stories concerning the glories of the people. This kind of *Naqqâli* was performed in the simplest way with no need for portrayals of the story, whereas in the case of *Qahvé-khané* the narration contained movement relevant to the content of the *Naqqal*. Wherever the *Naqqâl* was located, he was mainly invited by people to their houses, and that became the place for people to gather and benefit from his story. Because of the length of story, the completion of the story was sometimes delayed to the next night⁸. Should this happen the gathering was arranged in the house of another neighbour. It led to the creating of a pattern of visiting among the residents of the quarter. By means of this gathering, they socialized more with each other leading to a sustained concept of social coherence materialized in the form of the structure of the cluster houses with the possibility of easy movement among them (figure 7.4).

In order to understand the concept of neighbourliness among the inhabitants of the city, it was discussed with Hairatsajadi⁹. In responding, instead of using words he presented a photograph of a village in the southwest of *Sanandaj* (figure 7.3 a) to show how the people dealt with each other in the past life of the City, with minimum disputes among each other especially in the pattern of piled up settlements. As he explains, this pattern of settlement structure can be conceived as falling in the realm of an extended family.

⁸ This form of *Naghâli* was experienced by the researcher when he lived in one of the villages, at primary school age. There was a person in the village, who was skilled in story-telling. That person had an important role in gatherings of the residents during the winter. As a child, I often insisted on my parents' inviting this person to our house or on going to the house where he settled that night. It was very interesting to follow his story and we usually kept him going till the story was finished even late after midnight.



Figure 7. 4. General pattern of aggregation at the level of cluster houses close to *Wakil's Bazaarché* (source: Kurdistan housing and urban planning organisation)

7.2.2.2. *Qahve-khané* (Coffeehouse)

From the mentioned points above concerning the concept of *Dewâ-khân*, contrary to common belief, which relates the presence of *Qahve-khané* in the city of *Sanandaj* to the similar urban element in other Iranian cities⁹, it can be seen that the function of *Qahve-khané* is the logical result of the *Dewâ-khân's* function being translated into the structure of the city to maintain the notion of social life in the Kurdish context. Importantly, when interviewees were asked how they spent their leisure time, most of them directly referred to the function of *Qahve-khané* and its role in the social life of the people. Pointing out this claim does not mean an ignorance of the impact that the concept of the *Qahve-khané* in other Iranian cities had over this urban element in the city of *Sanandaj*. It means that the main concept has a

⁹ In the Iranian context, the function of *Qahve-khané* was evidenced since the period of *Safavids* times when it reached the height of their popularity in the *Qâjâr* times (Alemi 1999).

Kurdish background which in some points contained some patterns of activities borrowed from other Iranian cities. For example, we can draw attention to the disposition of *Pahlavâni* (championship) and *Lutigari* (generosity) were mostly performed in connection to the function of the *Qahve-khané* in the city of Tehran at the end of nineteenth century (Alemi 1999), and the city of *Sanandaj* contained the same notion as well.

In the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter as a quarter isolated from the whole city, as Ayazi (1992) and Haqshenas (1999) state, the quarter contained two active areas of *Qahve-khâne* within which adults and young people, even from other parts of the city, passed their leisure time drinking tea, and talking about the events of the day or listening to a recitation of the poems from the *Shah-Name*, especially the drama of *Rustam* and *Suhrâb*, by a story teller called *Naqqâl* or *Morshéd*. Of these areas of *Qahve-khâne*, that in the *Wakil's Bazaarché* was recognised as the best known gathering place for young people and *Pahlavânân* (champions) throughout the City (Ayazi 1992). As explained earlier, this character distinguishes it from the linear *Bazaarché* because the lack of *Ulamâ's* houses in the area of *Wakil's Bazaarché* which made it more appropriate for secular than spiritual activities.

Similar to the function of *Dewâ-khân*, long winter evenings were the most popular time for the *Qahve-khâne's* function which had a major role in gathering the people together indoors for warmth to spend their leisure time in a friendly atmosphere. Due to the presence of children and their desires for the continuation of the story, as Ayazi (1992) explained, the *Naqqâl* had to continue his story until after midnight. Apart from the performance of the *Naqqâl*, which contained important lessons for the young men of the quarter, it also strengthened the sense of unity among the neighbours by directing some of the debate to the problems of residents and ways of dealing with them.

More importantly, the *Qahve-khâne* was more active during the holy month of Ramadan. As Ayazi (1992) indicates, during this month, *Qahve-khâneha* became the arena of playing *Turnâ*¹⁰, especially after the *Isha* (evening) and *Tarawih* prayers, the latter a prayer specific to the month of Ramadan which comprises 20 units of praying and usually lasted until shortly before the *Fajr* (daybreak).

¹⁰ *Turnâ* is a kind of game mostly between youths within which they play with matchboxes to represent the king and vizier (minister). The vizier usually is in charge of the *Turnâ* (a piece of cloth made to be like a lash) to carry out the sentences of the king.



Figure 7.5. *Qahve-khâné*/coffeehouse [sources: a) from Kasraian, Arshi et al. 1990, b) by author August 2004)

a) Not only in the city, but also in the villages (especially the villages in the southwest of Kurdistan) the *Qahve-khâné* has an important role in gathering the people (male). B) this is one of the *Qahve-khânéha* with modern structure abutting to the principal route which still functions across the quarter

In addition to the two *Qahve-khânés* located in the centres of the quarter, as Ayazi (1992) indicates, there were two others; one on the east side of the *Bâq-e Wakil* and the second on the hill of *Qupâl* in the southeast of the quarter. Due to their locations outside the quarter in the green spaces, their functions differed somewhat from the others so that the *Naqqâlli* was not performed in them because they served the people mostly outside the building. As can be recognised from his account, they were places for young people and adults to spend their leisure time, sitting outside in the shade of trees and drinking tea, which they enjoyed while overlooking the city quarters, mostly the quarter of bazaar (*Âqâ-zamân*), because of the features of the terrain.

Generally speaking, the social life of the quarter, mainly in the linear *Bazaarché* (which comprises the houses of *Ulamâ*, the mosque, the *Hammâm*, the *Qahve-Khâné*, the bakery, carpenters, and some groceries) (figure 7.2), can be imagined from the following words of Mojtabedi¹¹ (one of the leading *Ulamâ*):

After the *Fajr* prayers, we usually witnessed the arrival of some small caravans into the *Bazaarché* from the rural areas these carried the daily and weekly needs of the people. On this occasion, the praying *Kasaba* (traders) made haste towards their shops in order to unload the mules which had carried their order. From this time onwards, the unloaded goods were arranged in front of the shops in order to be presented to the customers. The *Bazaarché* was crowded with the coming and going of the people until the occasion of *Dzuhr* (noon) prayer.

¹¹ Interviewed (23.08.2004), He was one of the interviewees over 80 years old. As one of the *Ulamâ*, he is still dealing with the social affairs of the city. As explained, his house is located on the principal route.

Although this praying created a pause in the tumult of the *Bazaarché*, it usually directed the stream of traders and other people towards the central mosque opposite my house, where they all turned in one direction towards the *Qibla*. From afternoon onwards, the crowds in the *Bazaarché* gradually diminished in favour of the *Qahve-khané*'s offerings which often lasted until late in the night.

In summary, from the review above and based on the concepts explained in the structuring elements of the quarter (see Chapter 6), it is possible to say that as the principal route led continuously from one area to another forming both entry and exit, it was a key component in structuring the public places of the quarter. Therefore, it can be recognised as the unifying element, thus, an area of traffic and social intercourse across the whole City which had a great influence on the social life of the quarter (Ayazi 1992; Haqshenas 1999).

7.3. The Attitude to Privacy in Kurdish Culture

Following on from the above section which directed attention to the tension between the two realms of social life in a Kurdish culture, here it is important to examine the concept of privacy in Kurdish culture. As the concept of privacy is recognised as the main factor in the organisation of that tension, especially its role in the special dimension of the built form, here we aim to explore the attitude to privacy in the Kurdish culture and how it influenced the built form of the quarter selected as the case study.

As seen in the literature review, the main tension in that concept in Islamic cities lay in the notion of sex segregation out of kin groups which was given careful attention in the design of Islamic cities, especially the means of approach to the private domain from public thoroughfares and vice versa, the presence of women in the public domain, and the matter of overlooking and being overlooked. Thus, it was recognised as a key factor in the organisation of space, and especially "the delineation between public and private spheres" across the residential quarters and even in the arrangement of space within the dwellings and its relationship with the space outside (Abu-Lughod 1983; Madanipour 1998; Memarian and Brown 2003; Stewart 2001: 177).

But in Kurdish culture, that tension was mitigated by the sense of neighbourliness and the effects of nature. Convincing evidence of this can be traced in the social behaviour and ceremonies of the Kurdish people. For example, the most popular Kurdish dance is called

Rash-balak, which is usually performed in a circle with the young boys and girls taking each others' hands (figure 7.6). In line with this notion, one can view the dress of Kurdish women which reveals a contrast by using vivid colours, the colours that are in harmony with the natural landscape, and also, generally, the status of women which can be derived from the writings of scholars and observations of travellers.

Based on the view of Minorski (quoted in Nikitine 1987: 223), "Kurds are the most liberal-minded in relation to the status of the women among all Muslims" because the women "enjoys a respectful position not observed among their Arab, Turk or Persian neighbours" (Kasraian, Arshi et al. 1990: 26). Nikitine (1987: 224) stresses that, the Kurdish women usually socialize with men, to the extent that "they entertain the guests in absence of their husband and they are quite free and confident in their presence and do not cover their face as do the other Muslim women".



Figure 7. 6. Popular Kurdish dance (*Rash-balak*) which is performed by girls and boys holding hands together, source: sanandaj.com

The convincing evidence for those claims can be found in the western views of the women's role in Kurdish society. As Gallatti (2001: 209) indicates, "the western visitors have often described the strong character of the women whose role has always been relevant in Kurdish society as mother, partner, political chief and sometimes fighter and bandit". For example, in the words of Pietro della Valle (the well-known seventeenth century Italian traveller quoted in Gallatti 2001: 210), women go about freely and unveiled and talk spontaneously with men both natives and foreigners, and entertain guests as head of the house. Or in the view of Rich (1836: 180-181, 85), who visited the land of Kurdistan in 1820 - his image of Kurd and Kurdistan was recognised as 'the realistic and inquisitive approach to reality (because it was

an internal image of the Kurdish society based on lived experience)' (Mirawdeli 2003) - "the Kurdish women are unveiled and freer than Arab and Turkish women".

In the light of the above status, throughout Kurdish history, it is possible to find Kurdish woman reaching high positions and becoming the political, in some cases even military, heads of tribes¹², more importantly, at the end of 19th century a famous poet and historiographer¹³. In this context, it is possible to mention the name of *Adela Khânum* of *Halabja* who occupied the headship of the *Jâf* tribe of southern Kurdistan. She was from the city of *Sanandaj* belonging to the *Wazier* family, the main supporters of *Ardalân* government. "Upon Usman Pasha's death in 1909, her husband, she remained firmly in control and her authority went unchallenged until her death in 1924" (Bruinessen 2001: 96)

In line with the status of Kurdish women described above and the strong sense of neighbourliness among Kurdish people, we can claim that the perceptions of privacy in a Kurdish city is somewhat different from those of other Islamic cities as has been pointed out by scholars (Abu-Lughod 1983; Hakim 1986; Madanipour 1998; Al-Kodmany 2000). Its tension was not as strong as in the other Islamic cities which had led to adopting more restriction on the presence of female in public spaces - this will be examined in the following section, and even to defining more complicated ways of entering the houses, and ultimately to the restriction of the houses from being outward looking.

Here in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, it is possible to observe the mitigation of this concept to such an extent that direct observation of the existing built form did not reveal extensive use of this privacy factor in respect to entrance doors' being located on the thoroughfares and windows overlooking each other. Considering these points, in many cases, the entrance doors were set just opposite each other along the narrow thoroughfares and even open to the view of passers-by from the thoroughfare (figures 7.32, 33), and with windows overlooking each other and even overlooking the courtyard of other houses (figure 7.7).

¹² In this regard, there are many witnesses. The reader is referred to the work of Nikitine (1987 pages 228, 229) and Bruinessen (2003: 95-107).

¹³ As Vasilyeva (2000: 13) indicates, *Mâh Sharaf-Khânoum Kurdistanî*, who wrote the history of *Ardalân*'s family – also known as the Kurdish poetess *Mastura* – was the only women-historiographer not only in *Sennah/Sanandaj* but in all the Near and Middle East till the end of the 19th century.

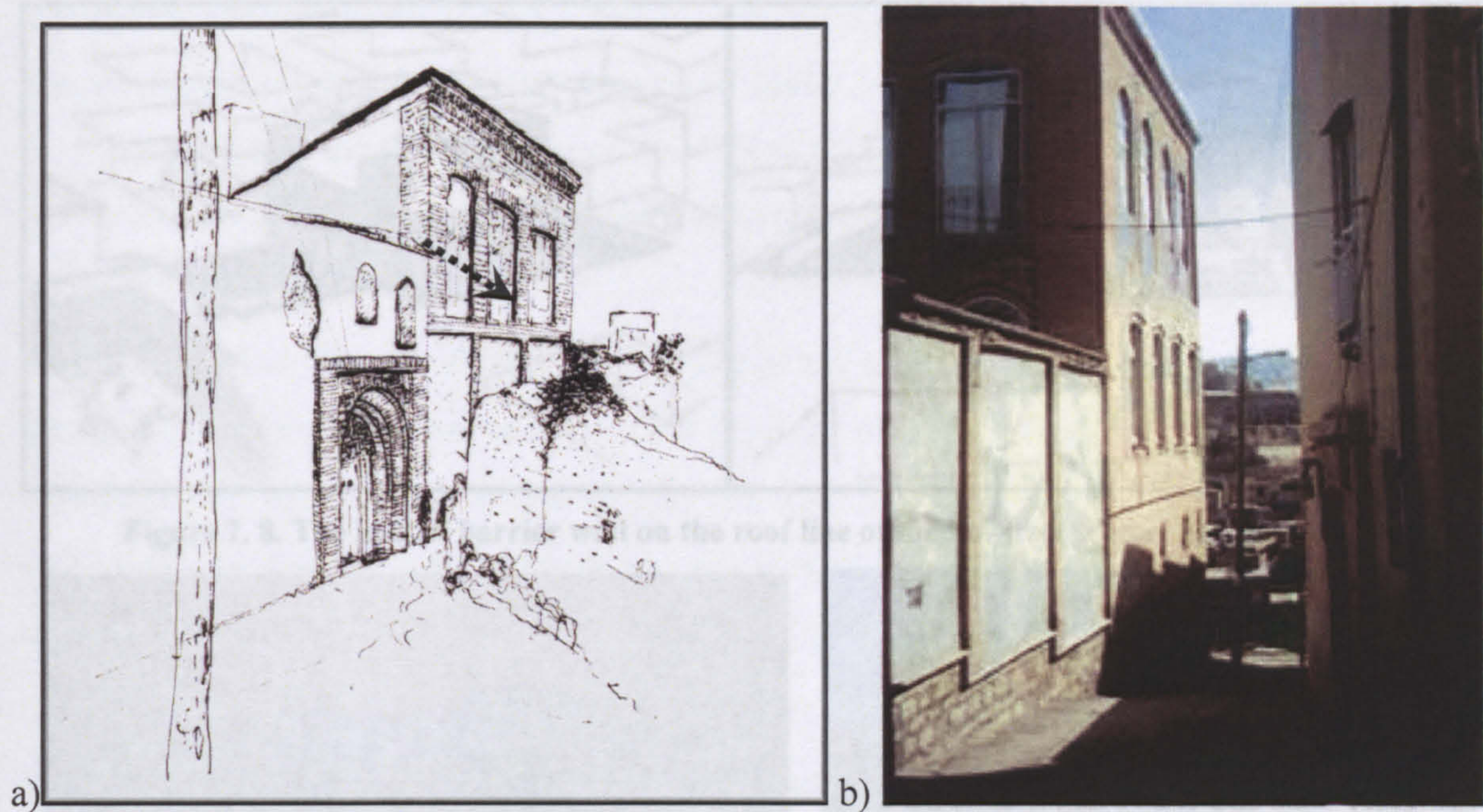


Figure 7. 7. Windows overlooking each other and the *Housh* (courtyard) of neighbours

Source: a) from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi. 2003, b) by author August 2003

Following on from the idea of the mitigation of the privacy concept in the quarter selected as the case study, another point relates to the use of the roof during the summer. As the extreme of temperature could reach a maximum in the range of 30-40C in the summer season, especially in the month of July, the people usually used to spend the night on the house-top (Haqshenas 1999). In this regard, although the compact form of the settlements and topography of the City site facilitated overlooking, there is no sign of any protecting wall on the roof-line of the houses (figure 7.8). This point can be compared with other Iranian cities where the socio-cultural and environmental circumstances reinforced the feature of the built form requiring a wall around the roof-line to protect the realm of the private domain from any unexpected overlooking. The important point is that, there the carpet pattern (figure 7.9) of the built form (the existence of a uniform and absolute order in the layout of the city) which in itself restricts overlooking. But, here overlooking is reinforced by the topography of the City site and its outcome in the terraced pattern of the built form.

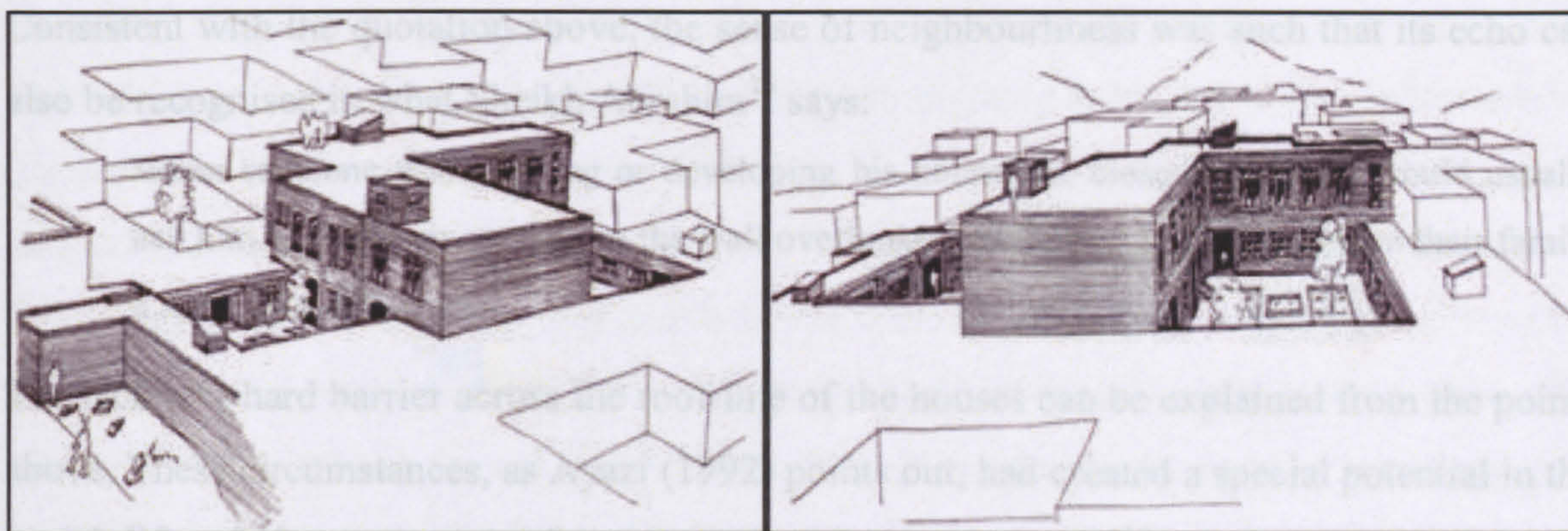


Figure 7. 8. The lack of barrier wall on the roof line of the houses (Source: Saravand 1992)

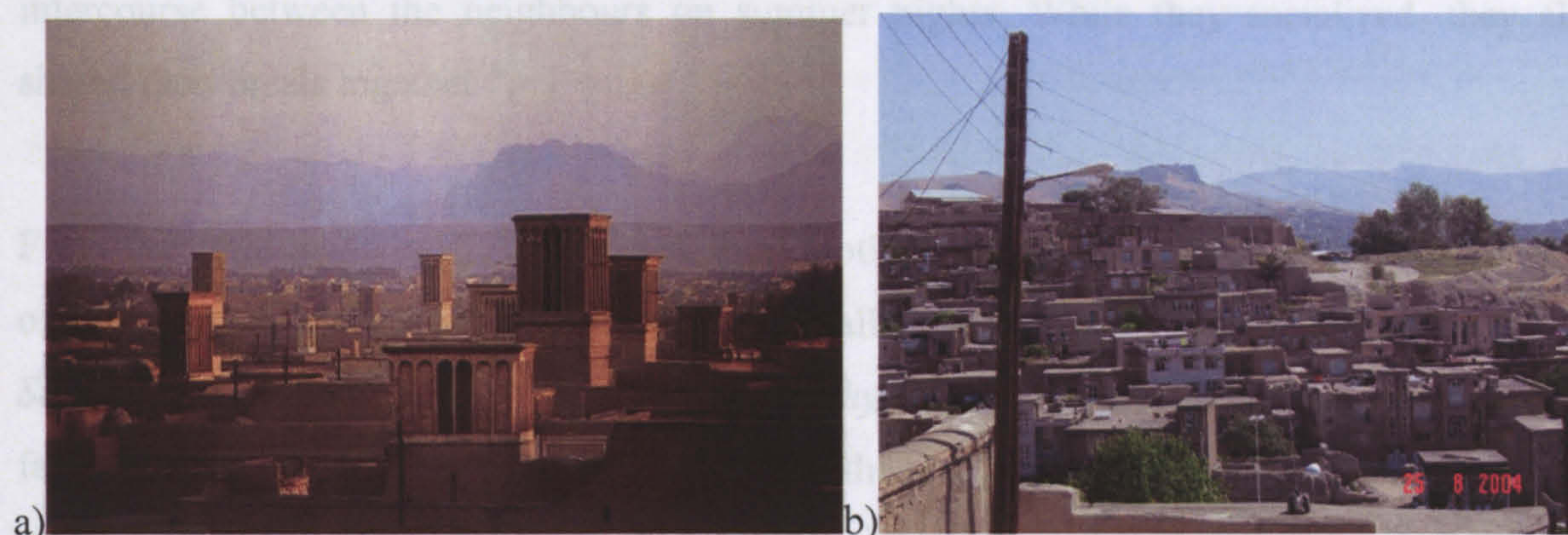


Figure 7. 9. Comparing two built forms from the point of the site's potential as form giver
Sources: a) from <http://www.iranchamber.com/cities/yazd/yazd.php>, b) by author August 2004)

a) shows the city of *Yazd* on the central of Iranian plateaus, with a carpet pattern - a monotonous spread of the city. B) is a view from the natural edge of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter towards the northeast, with the seat of power clear on the top of the hill in the central part of the city, showing the terraced pattern.

The above issue was discussed with the interviewees during the fieldwork, most of them emphasised the good behaviour in the neighbourhood and the homogeneity of the people such that neighbours had priority over relatives. This point can be derived from the following words of Hairatsajadi¹⁴:

In the past life of the city, it was a custom among us that the real neighbours could be considered as the forty houses that surrounded our houses in the four directions. Based on this belief, we lived with each other as real neighbours, the neighbours that were *Mahram* (as close as relatives) to each other. Therefore, overlooking was no longer an important problem because that sense of neighbourliness convinced us to consider our neighbours to be as one of our sisters or brothers.

¹⁴ Interviewed (29.08.2004)

Consistent with the quotation above, the sense of neighbourliness was such that its echo can also be recognised in what Sheikh Abraham¹⁵ says:

When someone was building or developing his house, the close neighbours would usually ask him to create an opening in the wall overlooking their house in order to give their family a sense of togetherness.

The lack of a hard barrier across the roof-line of the houses can be explained from the points above. These circumstances, as Ayazi (1992) points out, had created a special potential in the social life of the quarter to the extent that the roof was also another place of social intercourse between the neighbours on summer nights. While they socialized, they also shared their meals together¹⁶.

From the point made by Hakim (1986), those notions above create overlooking (an invasion of privacy in Islamic law), whereas, they normally have to be prevented. But in the city of *Sanandaj* (especially in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*), as the interviewees and the physical fabric of the city give evidence, the harm from the notion of overlooking was minimized in respect of strong social cohesion among the neighbours in that they acted as relatives in relation to each other. Therefore, we can say that the view of overlooking, as a kind of harm, was regarded as less of an issue in such a context.

The claim above does not mean that there is no trace of privacy in the settlements of the region and especially the city of *Sanandaj*. This is just a discussion to make clear that the concept of privacy was mitigated due to the structure of the City's setting, and more importantly, the homogeneity of the Kurdish people rooted in its long historical background and socio-cultural circumstances which led to a strong sense of neighbourliness in comparison to other peoples in other Iranian cities.

¹⁵ Interviewed (17.09.04)

¹⁶ As Ayazi (1992: 336) explained, there was a custom among the people in the past which was named *Kâsa-hawsâ* (neighbourhood bowl). According to this custom, the people usually offered some parts of their meal to their neighbours. Continuation of this custom has left its mark on the interior features of the buildings. When a house was going to be built three things were priorities: 1) creating a hatch or small window in the wall of the neighbour's house 2) the placing of a *Kursi* (a square table covered with quilts and blankets with a brazier under it to heat the legs and body during the winter) in rooms 3) and the placing of toilet at the corner of the *Housh* (courtyard). The first was related to the custom of sharing meals and to give an easy way of sharing the meals between neighbours.

However, the concept of privacy was applied more rigorously in the houses of ruling class and rich people, and more so in those of people that migrated or moved to the city from other Iranian cities because of their social conditions and the fact that they were more in touch with other Iranian cities, especially the city of Isfahân as the symbol of Iranian architecture¹⁷. Thus, they imitated the concept of *Maskan*¹⁸ with the main focus of a courtyard structure¹⁹ and other related features. From this perspective, there is a range of houses styles across the quarter which will be examined in the chapter concerning the private domain from those with a rigid structure in respect of the privacy, with an introverted structure and a more formal presence in the world of public due to the socio-political status of its owner, to the more open styles, with extroverted structure and more intimate with the world of *Kuché* by means of highlighting the feature of *Bar-haiwân* - the main device of house building in the region.

The above brief discussions of the concept of privacy allow us to move on to another relevant discussion concerning the women's presence in the public domain and its related spaces, where the level of social interaction can be explored, especially among the ruling class and commoners. This can be recognised as a point missing from much Islamic and Iranian literature. For this reason, major parts of the following sections were specific to examining this notion of the female realm in the quarter selected as the case study.

7.4. Women's Negotiation with the Public Domain

Following from the section above, especially in relation to the public spaces of the quarter, one may ask about how females socialized in the context of the quarter, or the possibility of the existence of places exclusively for them. This is an important question, especially in respect to Islamic cities.

¹⁷ In this regard, there is evidence in history that *Amanullah-khan* the Great (*Wâli* of *Sennah* in 1800-1825) had been enamoured to the architecture of *Isfahan* from his visits to this city. For this reason, when he met an *Isfahanian* merchant (*Abutaleb Isfahani*) in the city of *Tehran* in 1808, he invited him to settle in the city of *Sennah* and to help him to renovate the City based on the quality of architecture in the city of *Isfahan*. *Abutaleb* settled in the city the year after, and at the request of *Wâli* he invited architects, carpenters, tillers and others to the city of *Sennah* (this was quoted in a report on to the Mansion of *Asaf-Wazzieri*, *Sâzmân-e Merâs-e Farhangi Kurdistan*).

¹⁸ *Maskan* derives from the root *Sikun* which literally means Quiet (Warren & Fethi 1982: 44)

¹⁹ In line with this imitation, we can look at the entrance doors furnished with two splendid knockers: one a kind of metal ring for women, the other a large metal hummer for men. This was discussed with *Marufi* during our field visit, especially when we were observing the old city. He emphasised that, it is not from our culture, "it is more an imitation from other Iranian cities because this high proportion of sex segregation was not of such importance for Kurdish people. The evidence can be traced through the settlements in rural areas of the region which lack these separated door knockers".

7.4.1. General Notions in the Islamic World

In general public space was recognised unsafe for women in Islamic cities because of the concept of sex segregation and the demand for privacy (Abu-Lughod 1983; Kostof 1992; Madanipour 1998). And from this point follows the “tri-fold division of space” (rather than the more western bi-fold) which was conceptualised in Islamic cities in the form of private, semi-private/semi-public and public spaces (Abu-lughod 1983: 66). Although, these concepts seem to be key factors in the organisation of space, more important in the structure of the residential cell with an introverted layout centred around courtyard and in the circulation system of the quarters, they do not mean that females must be excluded from public spaces and that there should not be any evidence of their interaction with the public realm. As explained, the root of this idea dates back to the perspective used when studying Islamic cities. If one only looks at the life of the ruling class or of the wealthy people, one will find a rigid structure of sex segregation especially from the outside the kin group as it was defined by distinct quarters of men and women in the structure of their houses.

The wealthy Moslem of the past was able to ensure this segregation under the title of the *Nâ-mahram* and *Mahram*²⁰ by confining all the womenfolk of his household to the harem and installing eunuchs to guard them (Encyclopaedia of Islam quoted in Khatib-Chahidi 1981: 115). In this part of the community, the female had no need to go out and communicate with the world of public spaces because everything was done for them by other people, especially by their servants. This is as stated by scholars (Khatib-Chahidi 1981; Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2001: 307).

“In wealthy families, the daily shopping is done by servants”.

On the other hand, if one turns one’s view to the lower layers of the community (commoners), where most of the people live, the women had to go out for shopping and to work in order to contribute to the income of their family. Hence, they had to interact with the public spaces of the city, especially the centre of the quarters. For example, Campanile (1818 quoted in Galletti 2001: 210, 211), who lived in Kurdistan from 1802 to 1815, explained that “the women’s work was not limited to domestic chores”. As he observed, “outside Mosul, the women were selling beautiful pearls”.

²⁰ ***Mahram***: People who are close, immediate family like brother, sister, father, mother, uncle, aunt, grandparents. *Mahram* people cannot marry each other (except husband and wife are married and *Mahram*). Thus, it is “the legal term denoting a relationship by blood, marriage or sexual union which makes marriage between persons so related forbidden” (Khatib-Chahidi 1981: 114). ***Nâ-mahram***: Male and female who are not close family are *Nâ-mahram* to each other.

Considering the above points, if we accept this idea that “public space is completely unsafe and must be eschewed by females” in the Islamic city (Abu-Lughod 1983: 66), how can we understand the life of the lower layers of the community, especially how could they survive?

Note that, the view above that public space is unsafe for Muslim women is in contrast with the notion of *Umma* the community of believers and brotherhood in an Islamic community, where all men and women are brothers and sisters, especially when Islamic religion was recognized as a force of dynamic influence which provided the basis for social cohesion (Saleh 2001c). The following underpins Islamic teaching:

Believers are surely brothers. So restore friendship among your brothers. Have fear of Allah so that you may attain mercy (Qur'an, 49:10 quoted in Memarian and Brown 2003).

This is also important especially when the organisation of quarters in the Islamic city is considered as “geographical entities as well as homogeneous communities which were closely knit”; where the notion of solidarity was strengthened by family, clientage, common village origin, common ethnic origin, common religious adherence and shared occupational ties (Madanipour 1998: 237). This means a high degree of safety for female socialization across the spatial structure of the quarter, specially its main centre of gravity - the centre of the quarter. Another important notion relates to the necessity of the veil/*Héjâb* for Muslim women by the verses of holy *Quran*²¹ which explains the possibility of women's negotiation with the public spaces.

7.4.2. Kurdish society

Apart from the above discussion concerning women's presence in the public spaces in the world of Islam, there is a view that each context has a distinctive approach to that idea which makes it difficult to put forward any generalisation for the all the lands of Islam. Even in one country, one may find different treatment of the subject which can be linked to the socio-cultural and environmental circumstances that have embraced that society.

In a Kurdish society or even generally, the way women interact with public spaces can be investigated in terms of the people's attitudes to privacy, the status of the women and the

²¹ And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms (*Suré*, ch.24, verses 30-31 quoted in Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2001: 306).

socio-economic structure of the society. These points peculiar to Kurdish culture were discussed in previous sections. They were recognised as the points which made the Kurdish society different from the surrounding nations concerning women's presence in the public realms out of kin groups. The following discussions are concerned with both the general, that is the presence of women in lower social layer of community in the Islamic world and the specific - Kurdish society views which examine the city of *Sanandaj* leading to the selected quarter.

7. 4.2.1. The city of Sanandaj, Jawr-âwâ quarter

In the city of *Sanandaj*, female interaction with the public spaces of the city can be recognised by considering the social structure of the two quarters of *Jawr-âwâ* and the selected quarter, *Qatar-chyân*. As explained earlier, the inhabitants of the *Jawr-âwâ* quarter were mostly servants of the ruling class and wealthy people. These included both male and female. It follows then the females had to go beyond the boundaries of their families, passing through many streets in order to reach their places of employment. On the way and returning home, they would be in contact with many people in order to do their daily business, especially when on their way home they had to go to the quarter's *Bazaarché* for shopping., One of the interviewees from the *Jawr-âwâ* quarter Abdulhamid Hairatsajâdi²² a local historian and son of a leading *Ulamâ*, clearly explained the circumstances within which the women lived in the case of this quarter.

I remember the period when we were living in our house in the *Jawr-âwâ* quarter. As my father was one of the *Ulamâ* and teachers, we had rather a grand house, which apart from its main structure contained four areas at the front called *Zheermâlâ* (a separate small house for a poor family)²³ in the southeast corner of courtyard, a stable and a charcoal store in the south, and *Sar-tanour* a bakery to the southwest of the house. For your information, those last three parts resemble an extension of the house towards the south. The structure of main part of the house comprised three parts with two corridors in between. Two or three times each a

²² Interviewed 29.08.2004, he was one of the local researchers over 70 years old. His father was recognised as the founder of education system in the city of *Sanandaj*. As one of the notables, his house was close to the quarter of ruling class.

²³ *Zheer-mâla* is a particular concept used in Kurdish language of *Surani* (especially the dialect of *Sanandaji/Ardalâni*). A similar concept was not found in Persian language. For this reason, it is difficult to give a proper idea of the concept in English. It is usually used to describe poorer people who live in the house of wealthy people. It is unlike the concept of a servant because these people usually have a separate house within the main house. They are not paid any money but they might share in the meals of the host. The men and women can have a regular job outside the house working for others but they have to keep the house clean and help the host in doing some of their business. The full meaning of this concept implies a family living with the main family but close to the entrance door. It means a kind of shared life within which the host has supervision over the poorer family.

week, two women usually came to our house from the quarter to bake bread in the bakery. As baking bread has a long process of preparation, especially kneading the dough, one of the women had to come in the early morning after *fajr* (daybreak).

The above words of the interviewee, to some extent clarify the circumstances of both the wealthy people and the commoners with respect to the presence of women in outdoor spaces. Most importantly, the working times of commoner women explain their presence early in the morning in the public spaces of the thoroughfares and even in the houses of other people for the sake of their families' income. The other point from the above quotation relates to the concept of *Zheer-mâla* and its manifestation in the structure of the houses, especially the houses of wealthy people. It is somewhat peculiar to the city of *Sanandaj* and there is no similar concept in the Persian language. As explained in the footnote, it is a real house alongside the main house but close to the entrance door. Generally speaking, it can be said that it is a concept lying between the two concepts of tenant and servant. This means that the status of *Zeer-mâla* is not like a servant because it has a semi-independent structure so that he/she is not paid any money and they can have a job outside the house. Also it is not tenancy because he/she has to do some unexpected business and they may share in the meals of the host.

The location of *Zheermâlâ* close to the entrance door is explained by the cultural needs of rich people for the presence of another family to benefit them in a number of ways. As the house of these people were usually of so large an area that there was a long distance between the main part and the entrance door, so the presence of another family close to the entrance door helped them to deal with the affairs of the visitors. It means that the *Zheer-mâla* acted as a transitional area to link the interior part of the house to the world outside.

From another point of view, due to their status in terms of life style and values, they, mostly the women, usually socialize with the people in the realm of their houses. So, the presence of another family could help the host in serving those women from higher status families. Considering this notion Mr Hairatsajâdi was pressed on how his mother usually socialized with the neighbours, especially coming and going to the houses of each other. He simply said that "my family was from notables and we usually dealt with those families whose status was the same as ours. This does not mean that my mother had no relationships with the neighbours because they visited us for the sake of some business or to raise some questions

concerning their own life or the quarter”. This defines a kind of formal interaction with commoners.

The third point relating to *Zheer-mâla*, can be seen as an outcome from the views of the interviewee, is again in relation to the cultural needs of these families. As they were also the owners of properties in the countryside, the presence of this family in their houses could help them to regulate their affairs in relation to the coming and going of the people from rural areas, who rented their properties or were in charge of their affairs. More importantly, due to their status and their need to be in touch with their properties in the villages and with other affairs in other cities - mostly Tehran, the existence of another family alongside their family could help them to feel reassured about any untoward problems. Thus, it gave them more security.

The fourth point can be linked to the sympathy of these families towards the poor people rooted in the concept of brotherhood in Islamic beliefs and the sense of unity among Kurdish people.

The review of literature did not reveal any work on the concept above and its origins in the structure of houses. As explained earlier, the assumption is that it has a link with the socio-cultural circumstances of Kurdish society, especially with its social coherence. This means that, in the unified structure of Kurdish society, the wealthy people adopted this concept for two reasons; first, they linked themselves to the context of the whole community by accepting a poor family alongside their family, and second, their family benefited from the presence of that family for unexpected affairs – as a support family. Apart from this assumption, it should be considered an open subject for further research.

7. 4.2.2. The Qatâr-chyân quarter

In the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*, as the quarter of muleteers, the circumstance is slightly different from the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ* because here the adult male had to leave his family for long periods in order to transport products from the region to other cities. Hence, the adult female was responsible for many of the affairs of the house, and more importantly going out and visiting the public spaces of the quarter to shop. This situation was discussed with the interviewees; it is worth looking at their views in the following quotations that are consistent with the concept of strong social coherence among Kurdish society.

On the occasion of journey to other cities (mostly *Hamadân*, *Zanjân*, *Rasht* ...), those people in charge of transportation affairs usually put their family under the care of one of the neighbours. The neighbour looked after them as his relatives. He supplied all their shopping apart from the unexpected items which were bought by the adult female of the house from the closest *Bazaarché* (Sheikh Abraham²⁴).

In the past, the social relationship of the people was not bound up in economical issues as today. The neighbours had a good relationship with each other and looking after a neighbour was a rather common practice among them. In line with this, the entrance doors were usually open for easy movement between them and each house had an opening to the adjacent one to be used for meal exchange. In these circumstances, those who were on journeys to other cities for the livelihood of their families had the affairs of his house managed by his closest neighbour (Mujtahedi: one of the leading *Ulamâ*)²⁵.

From the points mentioned, the notion of the unsafeness of public spaces for women's presence in Islamic cities can be recognised as a narrow view which was only based on the life of wealthy people and ignored the challenges of life of the other layers of the community. That is why we can contest this idea, especially in relation to the public spaces within the structure of the quarters (figures 7.1, 7.2).

7.4.3. Public Places in the Realm of Women's Presence

The reviews above presented some views related to the possibility of women interacting with the domain of public spaces where men outside of the kin group would also be present. As well as these spaces, however, there are other places which are only used by women within the neighbourhood and even across the city. They are *Hammâm*, cemeteries, shrines and tombs of saints, *Kâni* (springs) and *Bar-mâl* (door-step) and will be examined in the following sub-sections.

7.4.3.1. Hammâm (Public Bathhouse)

The *Hammaâm* is another common feature of Islamic cities within which "health and social institutions" were located (Kheirabadi 1991) on a city and quarter level. At the level of the city, it has more to do with the realm of men because the main bazaar was recognised by most Islamic scholars as the arena of men's social interchange due to the cultural beliefs bound up with Islamic beliefs (Saoud 2002). This changes in the quarters as the realm of cluster houses or the domain of women's social activities is approached. Here the *Hammâm*

²⁴ Interviewed (17.09.2004)

²⁵ Interviewed (23.08.2004)

was defined for both realms but by turn; “men go to a *Hammâm* in the early hours of morning while the women mostly go to this place in the afternoons” (Najimi 1988: 48).

In the city of *Sanandaj*, especially in the selected quarter, the same points were observed. Some of them are concerned with the function of the main bazaar (complex bazaar) which were discussed in the chapter concerning the City structure. In regard to the quarter, as Ayazi (1992) explains, the *Hammâms* were used according to a timetable suited to the men and women, so that they were usually assigned for women’s use twice a week, Saturday and Tuesday²⁶. As he stresses, apart from its function for washing and personal cleansing (especially ritual cleaning according to Islamic principles), the *Hammâm* was an important meeting place where they usually stayed a long time in a large heated space together with an abundant supply of hot water, often from 9 o’clock to sunset, washing and even eating, chatting together and getting and spreading news. From this point, it was recognized as the main place for exchanging vital information about bonding friendships among the women and mate selection processes, There is a proverb which says:

“Use the bath water to make friends” which means that only by pouring pitchers of water over each others’ shoulders could acquaintance and friendship be gained (Bamdad quoted in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2001: 308).

In all, the quarter was serviced by two *Hammâms* located in the two centres; the *Tubâ-khânoum*’s *Hammâm* next to the principal route in the linear *Bazaarché* and the *Wakil*’s *Hammâm* in the *Wakil*’s *Bazaarchié* adjacent to the public place of the *Qahvé-khané* (figures 6.10, 6.11).

The location of the *Hammâm* in the centre of the quarter alongside other public places the mosque and the *Qahvé-khané*, contest the view mentioned earlier concerning the unsafeness of public places for women in Islamic cities. The structure of the *Hammâms* comprises a washing room, dressing rooms as well as other services (figure 7.10).

²⁶ This is the practice he observed during his lifetime. But he cited from his forebears that there had been a different method of managing the use of the *Hammâm* before that time. So, it was usually used by men from midnight until 9 o’clock and from that time onwards it was the turn of women. At 9 o’clock, the custom was that a person blew a horn on the roof of the *Hammâm* to inform both men and women of the time of the *Hammâm* (410).

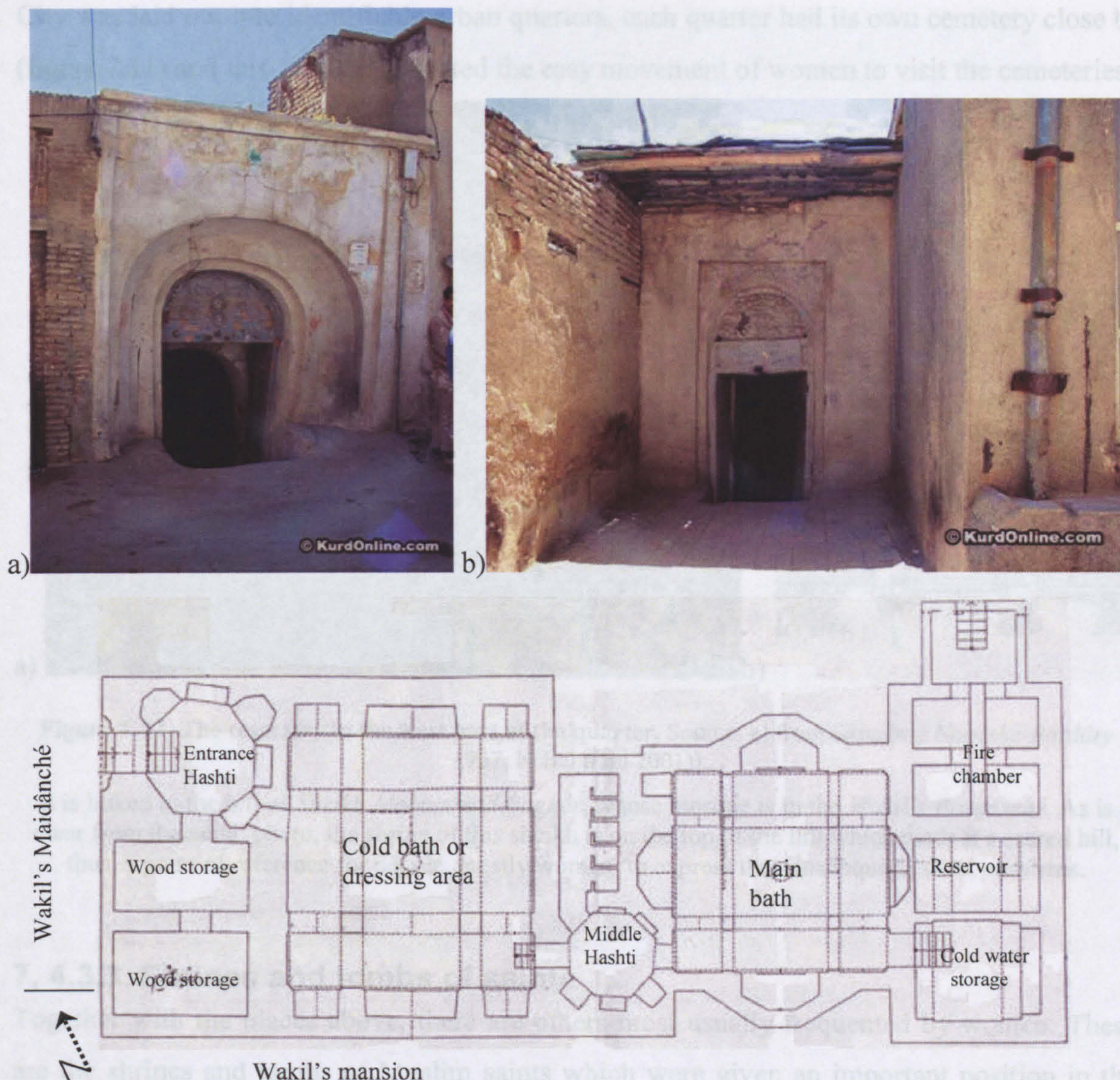


Figure 7. 10. *Hammâm's* entrances next to the two *Bazaarchés* and the plan of *Wakil's Hammâm* (sources: photos from Kurdonline.com, map from *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*)

First the *Wakil's Hammam*, second the *Tubâ-khânoum's Hammâm* next to the principal route

7. 4.3.2. Cemeteries

Another place for women to gather is in the cemeteries. Based on religious beliefs, people usually gathered in the cemeteries late in the afternoon on each Monday and Tuesday in order to read prayers to their dead, and to re-establish their feelings for them²⁷. As it is usually frequented by women, it can be recognised as a place where they meet each other and they can talk about the events and issues of their life. From this point and because the

²⁷ The importance of this place for Muslims can be traced through the following proverb: "When you are so grieved or so happy, it is better to visit a cemetery". The meaning is that at the extremes of either emotion by visiting the cemetery you will realize that it is not necessary to be at either extreme because you feel life and death simultaneously there.

City was laid out into identifiable urban quarters, each quarter had its own cemetery close by (figure 7.11) and this feature facilitated the easy movement of women to visit the cemeteries.

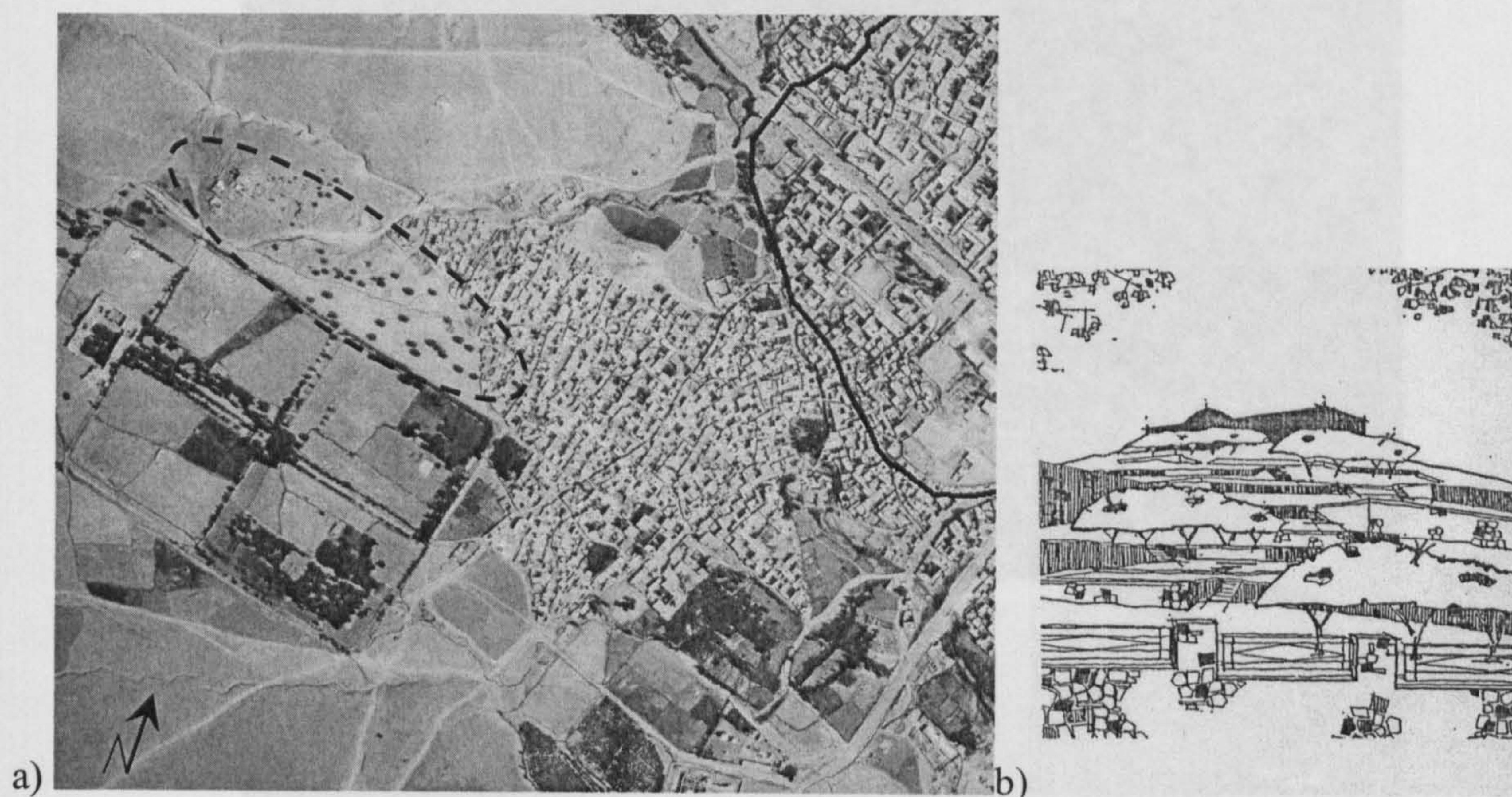


Figure 7. 11. The cemetery in the west part of the quarter, Source: a) from *Sâzmân-é Naqqshe-Bardâry* 1957, b) Bahrami 2001))

It is linked to the hill of *Sheikh Mohammad-baghér*, whose mosque is in the *Wakil's Bazaarché*. As is clear from the aerial photo, the shrine of this sheikh is on the top of the hill which made it a sacred hill, thus, a point of reference for people, mostly women, to express their inadequacies and problems.

7. 4.3.3. Shrines and tombs of saints

Together with the places above, there are others most usually frequented by women. These are the shrines and tombs of Muslim saints which were given an important position in the Iranian context due to the cultural beliefs echoed from Shiite ideology. From the point of view of psychology women participate more actively than men in *Ziyârat*/visits to these places (Tapper 1990; Mernissi 1989; Fruzzetti 1980 cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2001).

In the city of *Sanandaj*, even though the people mostly have Sunni beliefs, the *Ziyârat* of saints was to some extent the custom due to their long shared cultural background with other Iranian cities. There are two main shrines to saints in the city; one in the quarter of *Miyân-Qalâ* called the place of *Peer Omar*, and the other in the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ* called the shrine of *Hâjara-khâtoon*. Apart from these, there are other small shrines within the quarters which were usually used by women to express their inadequacies, failures, problems, or request favours and pay/perform their *Nazar* (vows) (figure 7.12).

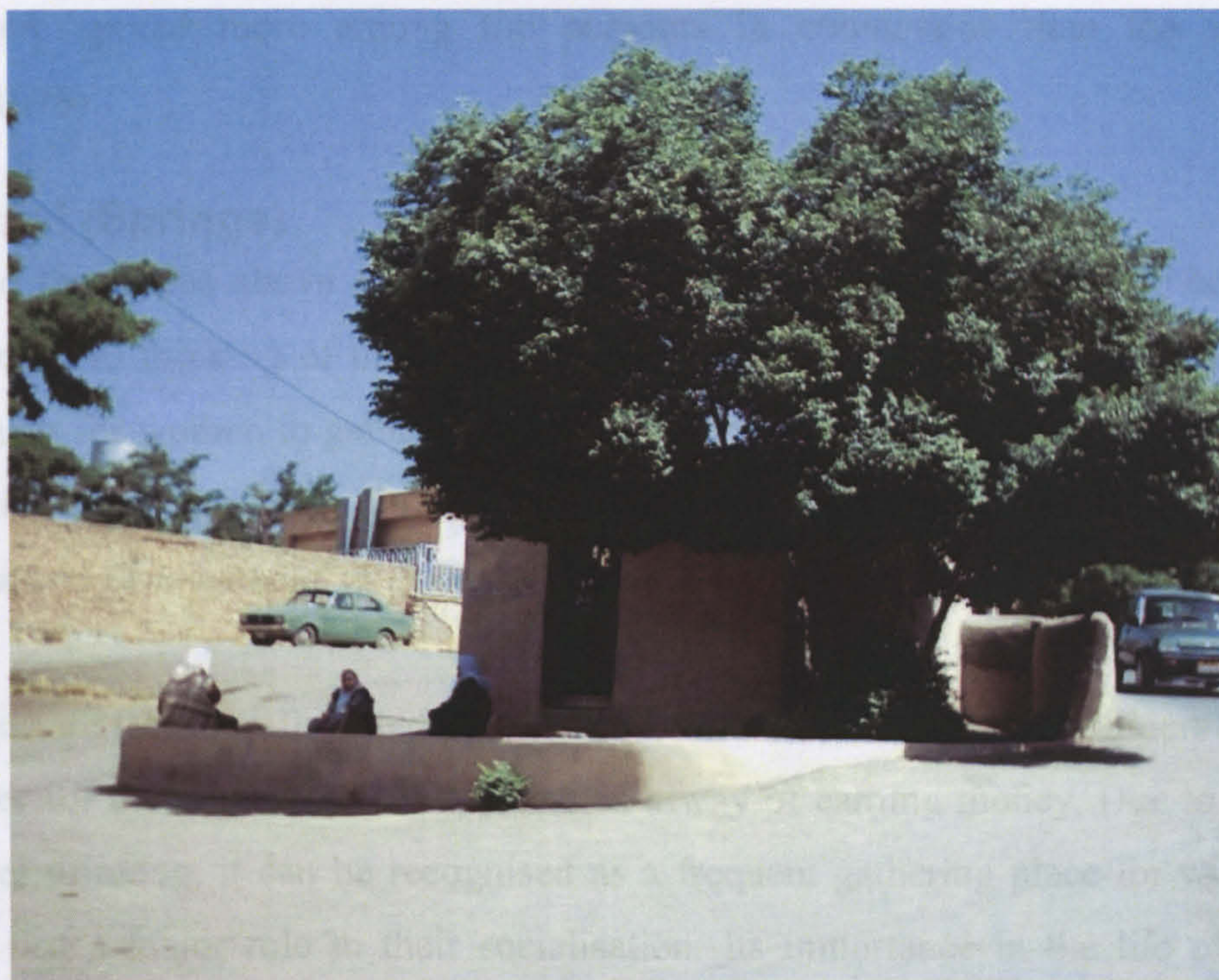


Figure 7. 12. The women's gathering place beside one of the shrines in the cemetery of *Sheikhan*, source: author August 2003

The shrine is located in the middle part of the street because of the physical development of the city, while the cars are driving by on both sides it still functions as a place for women's social interaction

In the above category, another place of women's gathering is the house of *sheikh* or *Sâddâts* (descendants of Imams). In these places, they usually ask the saint to help them to resolve their family problems. They mostly consist of a waiting room where the women can chat to each other before and after meeting with the *sheikh* or *Sâddât*.

Another important place where women gather is where they usually perform their religious ceremonies as members of a sect of Dervishes. Here, the women and the men participate in praise of God, but in separate rooms. As explained in previous chapters, this religious ceremony usually happen in places called *Takya* or *Khâneghâ* - centres of spiritual training. Within *Qatâr-chyân*, there is no particular building called *Takya* or *Khâneghâ*. For this reason, sometimes the mosques and houses instead were used for the relevant ceremonies. Or they had to travel further away to other quarters to participate in the ceremony of interested order, *Qâdiriya* and *Naqshbandiya*. The lack of old buildings of *Takya* or *Khâneghâ* in the quarter and even in the city can be related to the far more recent existence of this phenomenon in Kurdistan, dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, and the fact

that they were spread more among the peasants in countryside than the townsmen (Bruinessen 1978).

7. 4.3.4. Kâni (Springs)

In addition to the places above for women to gather which are common in other Islamic cities, it is worth to thinking of the sites of *Kâni* - springs - and the *Bar-mâl*/door-step, as important places for women to gather which are peculiar to the structure of Kurdish society. The importance of the first, *Kâni*, in women's social life can be compared with the function of *Dewâ-khân* and *Qahve-khané* in male society.

The *Kâni* is where they usually filled pitchers and carried them on their shoulders to supply drinking water for their families or for others as a way of earning money. Due to the daily need for water drinking, it can be recognised as a frequent gathering place for women and the one that had a major role in their socialisation. Its importance in the life of Kurdish women was such that Marufi²⁸ refers to it as *Kabul-akhbâr*, the news centre or the place for knowledge exchange. He goes on to say that fetching water was a pretext for them to visit the *kâni* in order to have the chance of meeting others. Barth (1953: 106) found the water-hole, "where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten", as the main place of women aggregations where gossips are exchanged.

Apart from collecting water for our family, it was really fun to go there and meet other women from different parts of the quarter and, more importantly, have access to information which the men did not have (Droudgar)²⁹.

Ayazi (1992: 420-423), write that in the past, there were three sources of water supply in the city: *Qanât*, subterranean canals, which supplied the needs of public places mosque, *Hammâm*, and *Takya*, the houses of nobles and some of the wealthy people, and the well which was used by other people, mostly commoners. The well water was usually used for washing dishes and clothes, irrigation and similar purposes. From this point and the health risks from using well water for drinking, and due to the location of the city in the intermountain basin, springs were another source of water mostly used to supply the daily drinking needs of the people. Considering this need, the city and its close surrounding area contained more than 25 springs. Of this number, the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* had four springs

²⁸ Interviewed 22.10.2004

²⁹ Interviewed 11.08.2004

mostly in the valley close to the place of the *Qula* Mosque, in the first phase of quarter formation.

As most of the City springs were destroyed by the physical development of the City, just signs of their sites remain (figure 7.13). Their function as a gathering place for women and their influence on the circulation system of the quarter, especially the routes of journeys to and from them, must be traced from evidence available in the settlements in rural areas, where drinking water for the people was usually supplied by one or two springs in the village, and in particular from the experiences of the researcher as he lived in one the villages in Kurdistan called *Qalâ-kouna* during his primary school years.

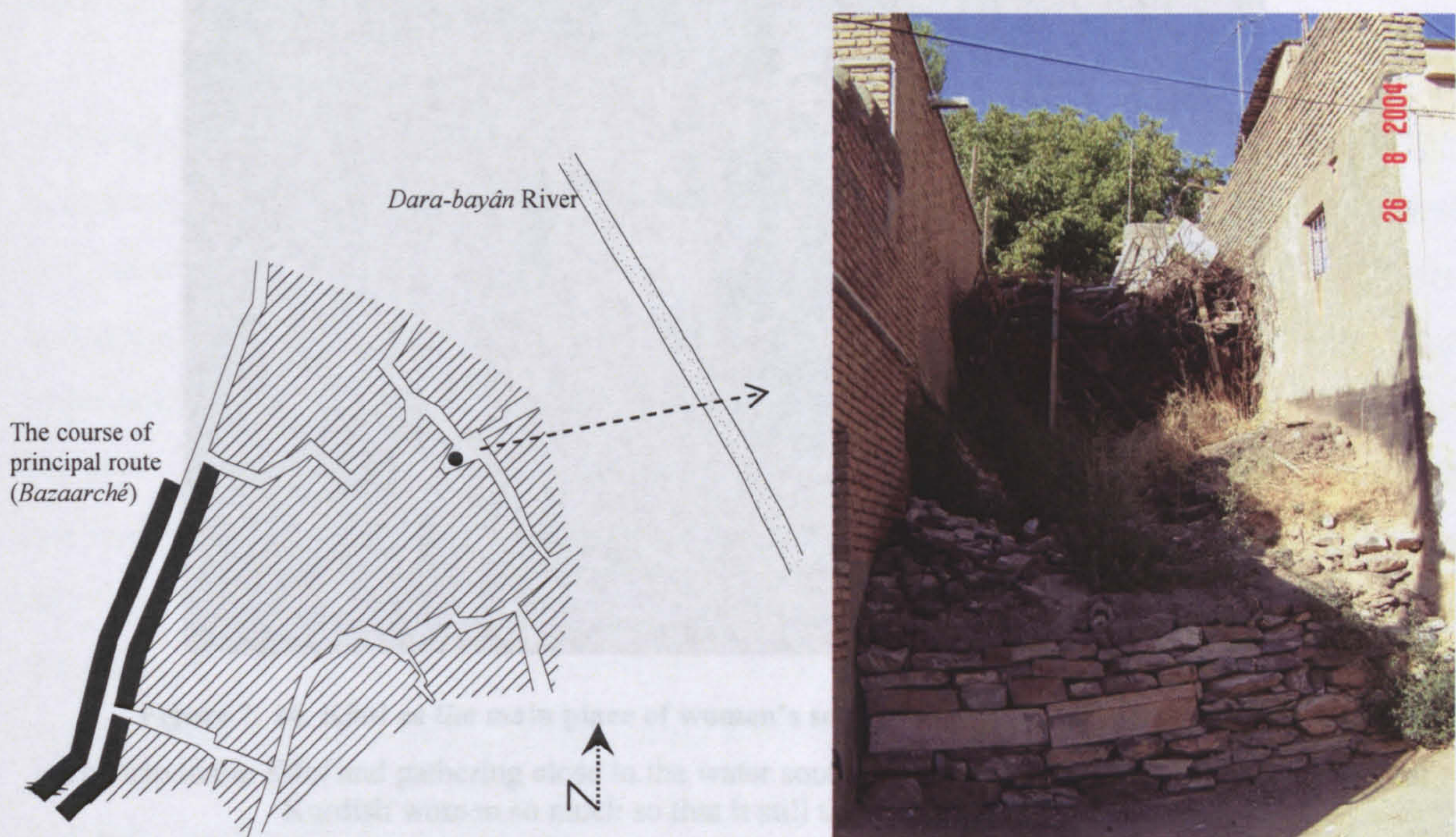


Figure 7. 13 The remaining location of *Kâni peera* (one of the quarter's springs) in the circulation system of the quarter, source: author August 2004

The experiences mentioned were in a small village to the far north of *Sanandaj*, which contained approximately 500 people. The village's drinking water was supplied by a single spring in the south of the village, where it was connected to a subterranean canal at the end of the settlement. As household affairs were mostly the responsibility of the women, the drinking water was supplied by them from that spring. For this reason, they frequently had to visit the spring during the day. The peak time for these visits was evening when the men were coming back from outdoor work on farms. The important point is that in the evening it was the turn of young women to take the pitchers to the spring. Culturally the evening

gathering, is linked to the processes of mate selection because its time coincided with the time off of the young men from their daily work. So, because of that point, the site of the spring was also the gathering place for young men. While the young men remained at a distance from the spring, the young women were on the lower part of the slope where they gathered close to the mouth of the spring (figure 7.14). Thus the one site served as two gathering places. In addition, the route of the journey to the spring had been preserved in spite of the recent physical development of the village.



Figure 7. 14. Kâni as the main place of women's socialisation, source: author August 2004

The trip to the *Kâni* and gathering close to the water source is one of the pleasant social activities for Kurdish women so much so that it still takes place in many villages.

7.4.3.5. *Bar-mal* (Door-step)

Generally speaking, the above custom was of such importance that there are many folk songs and music concerning the course of a young woman's journey from her house to the spring carrying a pitcher of water and a young man, who desires a sip of water from the pitcher.

It is evening time again, so pick up the jug madam,

While the spring's walk way is waiting for your appearance (poet: Ahmad Hardi).

Similar notions can be found in other Islamic countries, especially in the Middle East. But the point of difference is in the way women are present in the public spaces, on the way to and from the spring and even their gathering close to the water source, especially as it was

out of the kin group. For example, Hansen (1968: 85) describes the following practices around washing places in a Shiite village in Bahrain:

The washing places were sufficiently protected by means of a low semi-circular wall, or by the natural rise of the ground, for the women to work by the water without being obliged to veil themselves. Furthermore, neither men nor youths appeared in the vicinity of the washing place. On the other hand, the women were very careful to be veiled on their way to and from the washing place.

In contrast, in the Kurdish villages of Kurdistan and even in the past life of the City - especially in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, the signs of protection were not in evidence for women present at the *Kâni*. Furthermore, on their way to and from the washing place, they were not obliged to veil (*Châdur*) themselves.

Although, the above account may not completely match the function of spring in the quarter, because of the deeply rooted links between the villages and the quarter, and even the whole City outside the City walls (Vasilyeva 2000), it can be recognised as partial knowledge concerning this element, especially its role in mediating women's gathering places. More importantly, it is convincing evidence of women's presence in public space – even without the veil – and a significant point opposing the view of the unsafeness of public space for females. In line with this point, Ayazi (1992: 423), in his account, points to the water carriers, women, who were professional in this work and paid monthly. Moreover, Rangavary³⁰ (1999), in his tape recorded account, explains that the springs were crowded while women were debating with each other while collecting the drinking water.

7.4.3.5. Bar-mâl (Door-step)

The last place of women's social interaction is recognised by their presence in the place of *Bar-mâl* (door-step). This is in line with the second context of social life in the Kurdish society. This context was explained in the first part of the previous subject, the public domain. It was the place that was usually frequented by women each morning after finishing their duties at home (Marufi³¹). It means that after 10 o'clock, when the man left the house then the arena of the public domain is ready for the women to socialise with their neighbours. While she is dealing with *Tashi* and wool (*Tashi-rési*/wool-spinning) preparing the fine threads for rugs her children play freely around her (figure 7.15).

³⁰ Tape recorded interview in 1999

³¹ Interview 20.10.2004

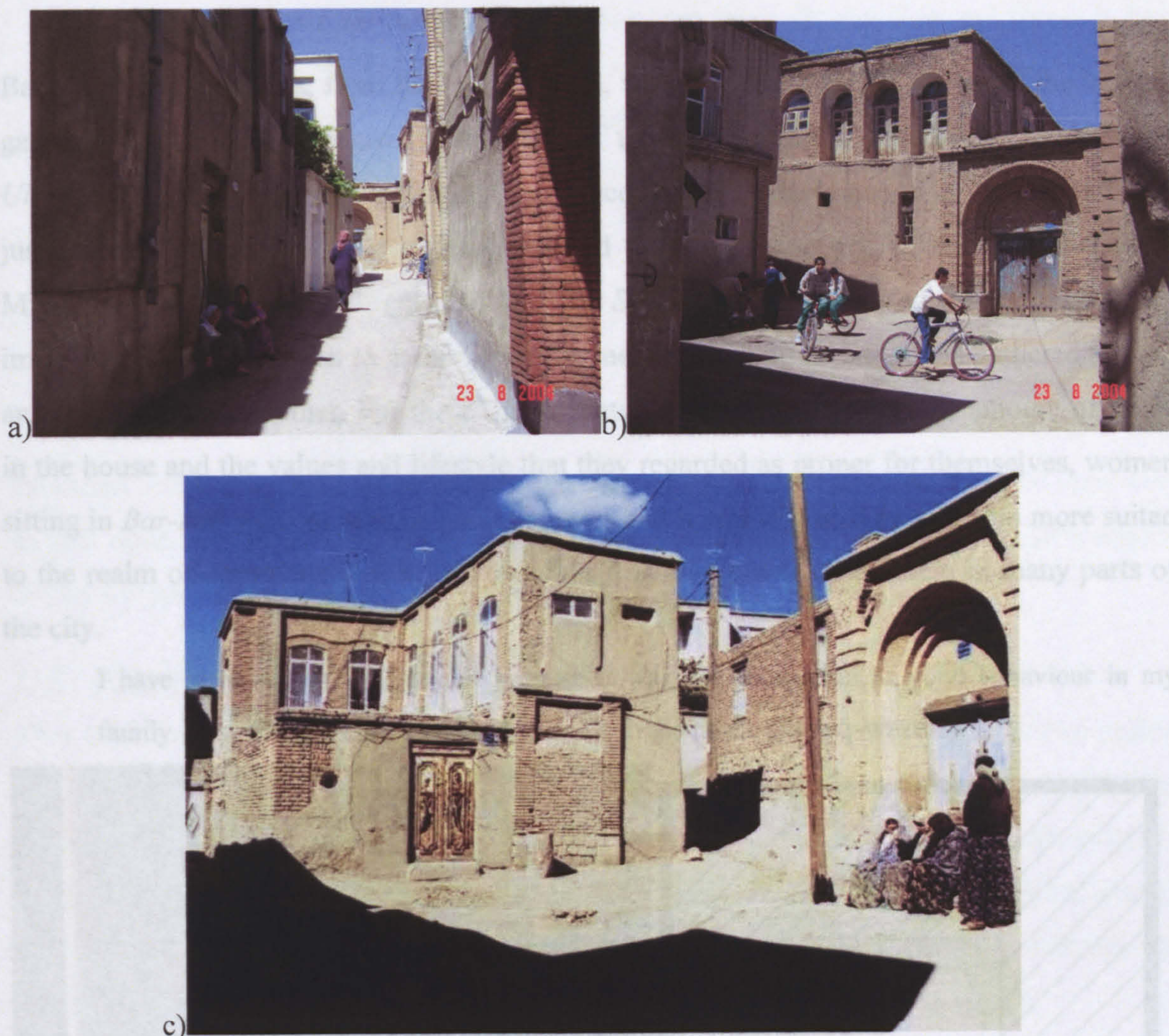


Figure 7. 15. The Bar-mal concept and its role as an important place of women's gathering

Source: author August 2003-4

As explained in the section about the inhabitants and their livelihood, the women in commoner families had to work alongside the men in order to contribute to the income of their families. From this point and the possibility of keeping sheep in the quarter, working with the wool of the sheep was a common activity among these families. The nature of the manual wool-spinning meant it was usually done outside of the home in the open spaces in front of the entrance door because some parts of it necessitated the help of other women. More importantly, being outside helped them to minimize any health problems related to their lungs and to keep the house clean. Thus, by doing this, on the one hand, they increased the income of their families either by selling wool directly or indirectly by using it to weave rugs for sale at the local market and, on the other hand, they gave themselves an opportunity to socialize with other women.

Based on local opinions, from the interviewees, there are two different views of the women gathering in front of the house. In the view of those that relate themselves to wealthy and *Ulamâ* families, this form of gathering took place mostly in the house or in the corridor area just behind the entrance door which contained the *Sar-tanour*, the bakery (Hairatsajadi³²; Mujtahedi³³; Sadeq-wazeri³⁴ (figure 7.16). The *Sar-tanour*, according to their view, was an important place for women to gather. While some were baking bread, others gathered around and talked with each other. For these higher status women, due to both the amount of space in the house and the values and lifestyle that they regarded as proper for themselves, women sitting in *Bar-mal* was not seen as good manners and it was regarded as a custom more suited to the realm of commoners' life, as nowadays it is also practiced by them in many parts of the city.

I have never sat in the bar-mâl because it was not considered as good behaviour in my family. I usually socialise with other women in the house (Sadeq-wazeri).

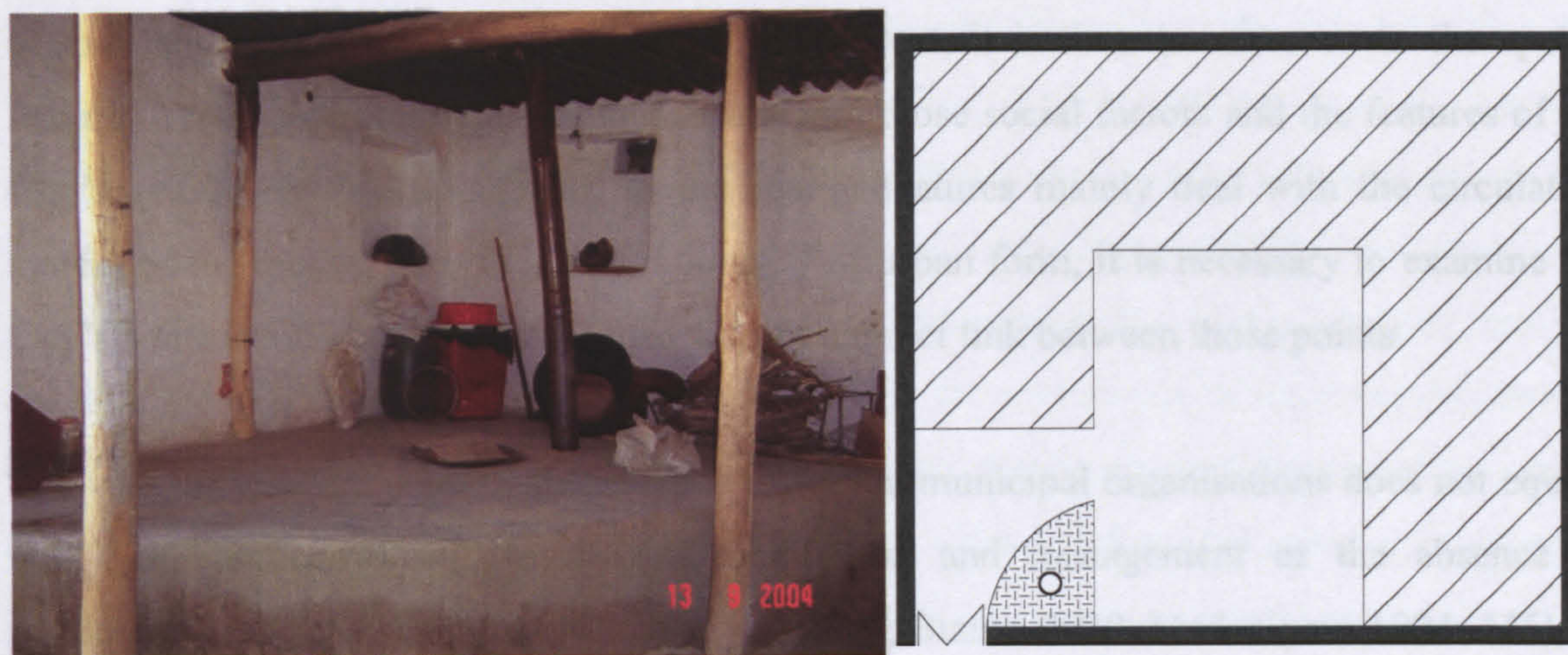


Figure 7. 16. The *Sar-tanour* close to the entrance door in the houses of wealthy and *Ulamâ* families

Source: author August 2004

For other interviewees (Marufi³⁵, Sheikh Abraham³⁶), sitting in the *Bar-mal*'s was a custom among the women of the neighbourhood where they would spend their leisure times and even do some household work, mostly wool-spinning.

³² Interviewed 28.05.2004

³³ Interviewed 23.08.2004

³⁴ Interviewed 13.08.2004

³⁵ Interviewed 20.10.2004

³⁶ Interviewed 17.09.2004

I remember that my mother usually spent her leisure time talking with the neighbours in front of the house, especially when my father left the house for his daily business. Most importantly, when he came back, they ended the meeting in respect for my father. This respect was not just for my father, it was mostly for elderly people due to the modest behaviour of women in the quarter (Sheikh Abraham).

From the above section, it can be seen that the life of the women in the Islamic city is not confined solely to the private domain. But their religion, as a way of life, and their cultural background rooted in circumstances peculiar to the place and its history provided them with important social roles and enabled them to go out of the house and, as most of the sites were located outside of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, even cross the boundary of their neighbourhood to visit the springs and sacred places.

7.5. Administrative structure

After analysing the social factors underlying the concept of public domain in the two realms of men and women in the selected Kurdish context, it is time to move on to the spatial features of the case study quarter that result from those social factors and the features of the City's setting. Before doing that, as the spatial features mainly deal with the circulation system of the quarter and, thus, the rationality of urban form, it is necessary to examine the City's administrative structure because there is a direct link between those points.

The view of scholars is that, "the absence of formal municipal organisations does not equate with the absence of mechanisms of negotiation and management or the absence of administrative and urban controls" (Alsayyad 1991; Bianca 2000; Madanipour 1994: 445), as had been claimed by the so-called orientalist opinions. Because the main features of the Islamic cities had institutionalized roles of governor and corporate organisation carried out by its sub-units this suggests a system of urban governance.

The power of the authority above in regard to the main features of the City was usually reduced in the structure of the quarters so that the planning was delegated to negotiation between social groups, more importantly to the solidarity between individual neighbours (Bianca 2000). This movement means that the definition of space usage was left to internal agreement between the inhabitants of each quarter. Although it defines the autonomy of individuals across the quarter and a lack of institutional control, what led to the complexity

of urban setting and the claims of the orientalist (the maze pattern of Islamic cities), it must be stated that the solidarity of groups due to family, clientage, common village origin, ethnic or religious sect and common occupational ties, the instructions of Islamic law, especially the sayings of the prophet³⁷, all reinforced and maintained the essence of social cohesion and, thus, the people were committed to the concept of self-regulating social behaviour resulting in the internal management of affairs among the neighbours. To some extent, they governed the affairs of the quarter without recourse to more formal institutions (Lapidus 1967). The only exception was “the headman of the quarter” (Vasilyeva 2000: 8), mostly *Kadkhudâ* and the religious leader elected by the population or appointed, who acted as mediators to solve “the conflicts which might arise from diverging development interests” (Bianca 2000: 53).

In this community structure, in general as the most sacred cell of society was recognised by Islamic law as family life and this was reinforced by the neighbouring structure of “unwritten rules” (Rapoport 1977) of the selected society, the private domain and the structure of cluster houses maintained priority over the surrounding public spaces – the primary thoroughfares/*Kuché*. The physical organisation of space was to some extent based on “the concept of development from interior to exterior” (Monteguín 1983: 49). From this perspective, the real life of the city, except for the city centre, the bazaar complex, and the minor nodes of the residential districts, happened in the microcosm of the courtyard houses and the spaces within the cluster houses. And the surrounding primary thoroughfares served chiefly as ‘the boundaries of [cluster houses] which were left from the growing together of [its] surrounding cells’ (Abu-Lughod 1983: 65).

The way of structuring the city described above maintained a diversity of spatial circulation between the buildings instead of straight and defined streets, as the slow movement of pedestrians and animals required. This was recognised as a “human scale and economical dimensions” in the built form because it implies a strong harmony with the local conditions which were mostly rooted in religious values and inherited unwritten social rules such as “modesty, equality, and humanity” (Rainer 1977; Elaraby 1996). From these points the image of a long straight road was criticized due to its limited impact on the mind of human

³⁷ In this regard, prophet urges “Muslims to be good neighbours”. To some extent, he defined the concept of neighbourhood which extends to “40 houses in all directions” (Nishapuri quoted in Abu-Ghazze 1994: 55). This characterised a basic criterion for the boundary of quarters in the Islamic city.

beings “because the initial view is soon digested and becomes monotonous” (Cullen 1961: 11)

In line with the above ideas about urban management in Islamic cities, it must be said that the overall structure of *Sanandaj* – comprising the identifiable urban quarters, most distinguishable urban space, the concept of centrality, the relatively rectangular form of the City walls, the concept of centre and line in defining urban space (the principal route and its continuation towards the slope of the *Âwear* Mountains through the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*), and the rectangular form of public spaces (*Jumaa* mosque and bazaar) – indicates some planning authority in the City’s management. These specifications were explained in Chapter Five concerning the morphological components of the City and some of them discussed in further detail in the Chapter Six relating to the structuring elements of the quarter selected as the case study.

In comparison with other Islamic cities, where the main inducement of the above concept of self-regulating social affairs across the quarters was recognised as following *Sharia-law* and the sayings of the prophet (Lapidus 1967; Bianca 2000), here, in a Kurdish city, these two factors acted more as catalysts in evoking the sense of solidarity among the people because this sense had been formed by the circumstances that had long surrounded this society. As explained, the crucial point of these circumstances is traceable back to the period of the *Safavid* Empire (1502-1736), when the “Kurdish society was sandwiched between the Shiite Persians and *Âzeris* to the east, the *Hanafite* Sunni Turks to the west and north, and the *Hanafite* Arabs of Syria and northern Iraq (the birthplace of *Hanafism* per se) to the south” (Izady 1992: 135). Being in such frontier circumstances engendered that sense of solidarity from a number of perspectives, mostly socio-cultural ones. From the aspect of religion, the majority of Kurdish Muslims adhered to the *Shafi’ite* Sunni rites in contrast to both empires. This fact makes it clear that Kurdish society even in terms of Islam tried to distinguish its identity from the surrounding lands due to the diverging poles of powers and their contrast with the nature of Kurdish society. It was a means of creating “a form of defence against stress”. As Nikitine (1987) indicates, this challenge stemmed from the nature of Kurds and the struggle to allow their culture to survive, the culture which was evolved by two forces of nature, the place where they lived and human factors, the divergent poles of powers in surrounding lands. Above all, this attitude can be linked to the nature of culture. As Rapoport

(1977: 249) states, “one of the purposes of culture is precisely to define groups and stress their differences vis-à-vis others; it serves both to integrate and to separate”.

In light of the above discussion it can be said that the nature of administration in the city was essentially personal, rather than institutional, and to some extent distinguishable from other Iranian cities. “Its inhabitants did enjoy a substantial degree of internal self-government, if, by that term, is understood the day-to-day regulation of the city by its own indigenous [agents], rather than by external ones” (Hambly 1991: 564). The evidence from local chronicles suggests that the city administration, apart from the dominant role of *Wâli*,³⁸ was based on four pillars. Kurdistan (2002) defines them as the four pillars of Kurdistan which means that they affected the whole region under the control of *Wâli Ardalân* not just the City itself. These pillars were defined as the realms of the four families in charge of the main offices of power in the structure of *Ardalân* government.

7.5.1. The first Pillar of Ardalân Government

The first pillar was the *Wazieris*’ family, who were in charge of the principal financial office of the *Wâli*. As Mardukh (2000) indicates, this family was invited to Kurdistan from Isfahân by *Wâli Hâlu-khân* in 1613, before the foundation of the City. From this time onwards, they were entitled to be the Vizier of *Ardalân*’s reign, thus, they settled in the quarter of the ruling class close to the seat of power/*Qalâ* as one of the seventeen noble families. More importantly, their place of residence was at the intersection of the principal route and the *Kuché Derâz*, the *Kuché* that linked the *Jumaa* mosque to the *Arg* square in front of the *Qalâ*; its continuation was in the direction of the east gate of ruling class quarter - the bazaar gate (figure 7.17). One of their houses has been recently renovated and converted into the museum named *Khân’ê Kurd* (the Kurd’s house) in order to display some features of Kurdish culture.

7.5.2. The Second Pillar

The second pillar of *Ardalân* government was defined as the *Woukalâ* family, they were deputies to the *Wâli*. It means that this family was entitled to act as the government when the *Wâli* was absent and sometimes its financial agent so that “nobody could do any thing [except the *Wâli*] without the permission of this family” (Babani 1998: 53). It was the main

³⁸ Based on the idea of Lambton (1996-2002: 608), the title of *Wâli* was the provincial governor in the structure of power, especially “after the emergence of semi-independent dynasties in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries”.

status of the *Wakil* family, which was recognised in being charge of this pillar for more than four hundred years (Mardukh 2000; Kurdistani 2002).

As explained earlier, “this family has been continuously opposed to the ruling house and acted on the side of *Ardalâns*’ adversaries”. (Vasilyeva 2000: 7) Thus, they moved down from the ruling class quarter to the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* and created a focal point for quarter development and integrating part of its public life. Based on the words of Mardukh (2000: 256), this family had many problems related to the vindictiveness of the *Wazieris*’ family to the extent that “they were mostly killed or banished and less often passed away naturally”. The convincing evidence of this claim can be found in the words of Babani (1998: 58-61), who stated that:

When *Wâli* Amanulâh-khân came to power, it was difficult for him as the master of the political fate of the Emirate to tolerate the status of *Wakil* family. For this reason, conflict took place between them which to some extent was mediated by the central government. The outcome of this conflict, however, led to a sense of revenge in the *Wâli*’s mind to the extent that he planned a secret plot to entrap them (the three brothers). As a result of this plot, they were taken prisoner and then killed at a banquet hosted by the *Wâli* in 1803.

7.5.3. The Third Pillar

The third pillar was the realm of the *Mawâli* family, who were in charge of the judiciary with the status of *Sheikhul-islam* (leader of Islam) in the city and countryside. In the local chronicles, there is no more information concerning the duties of this family, and no mention of the status of *Qâdi* except that the title of *Qâdi* is used after their names. What can be deduced from the genealogy of this family, which was drawn up by Mardukh (2000) and Kurdistani (2000), is that they had a mostly religious background suited to the position of judgement. The best evidence is in the following words from Mardukh (2000: 243):

Mullah Mustafa *Qâdi*, the mullah Yaghub-e *Qâdi*’s son, was installed as *Sheikhul-islam* in 1747. After three years judgement, he was martyred in 1750. After him there remained mullah Sharif-e *Qâdi*, who was born in 1740.

From his status, as a leading *Ulamâ* and having a key role in maintaining public order, the *Sheikhul-islam* was aligned with the *Wâli*, thus, the house of this family was located in the quarter of the ruling class (figure 7.17). This house is now the main cultural museum of the Kurdistan province and as one of the registered historical houses it was renovated in order to carry out that function. As far as can be ascertained from local and general sources

concerning Iranian cities, this status was in the realm of religious officials and he was usually nominated by the prince or *Wâli* (Lambton 2001). The main evidence for this view is available in the words of Kurdistanî (2002), who published the main text of his book in June 1892. As he states, the above status first belonged to the *Sâdât-e Shiekhal-islami*, who traced their descent from Prophet Mohammad, up to 1806. From that time onwards, as the heads of this family were executed by the order of the Kurdistan governor, their status was transferred to the *Mavâli* family. Although, he does not mention the reasons behind this act of the *Wâli*, it can be assumed that they had acted in opposition to the *Wâli*'s wishes or had tried to acquire an independent status.

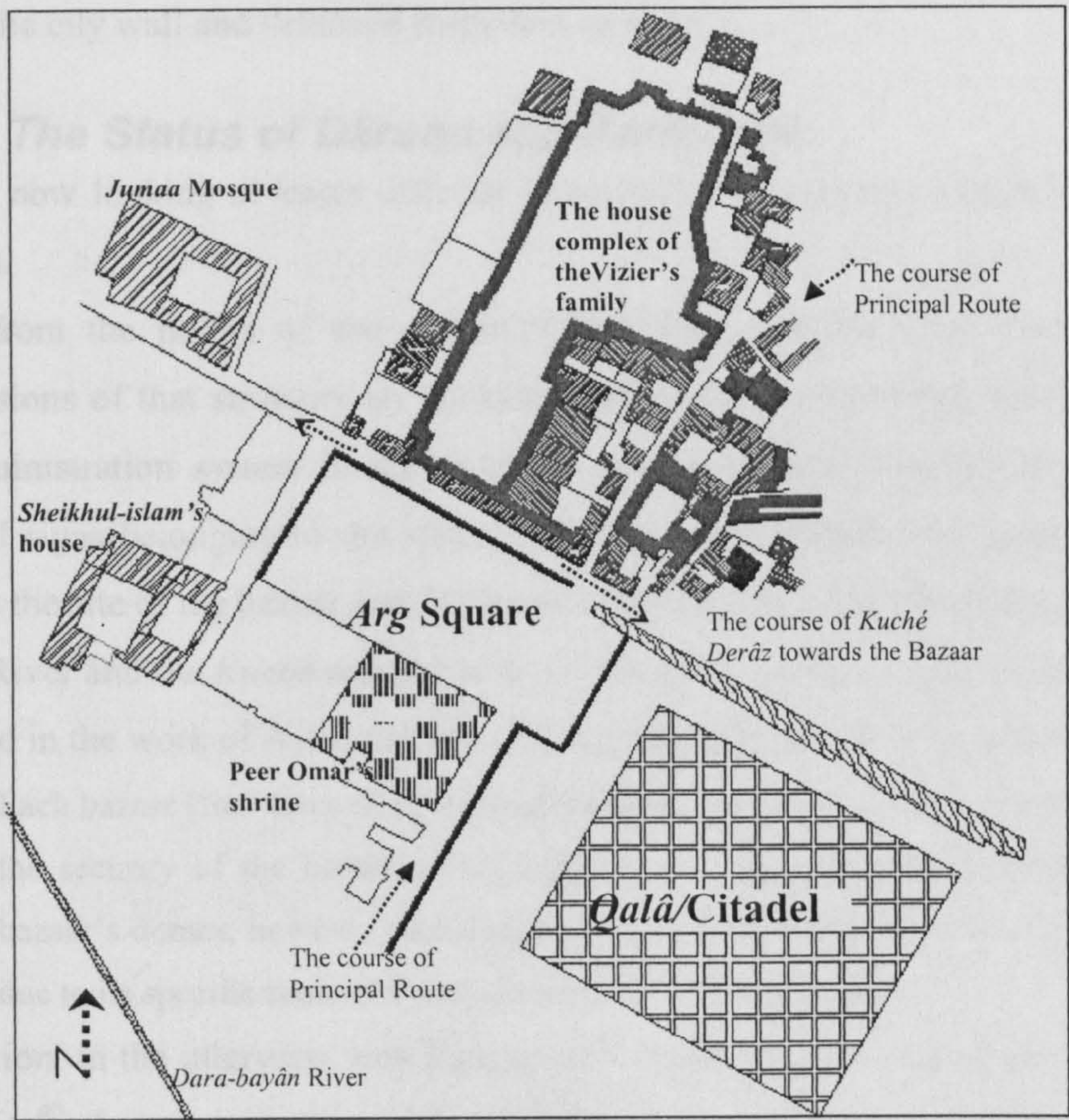


Figure 7. 17. The locations of two pillars of *Ardalâns*' government in the environs of Principal route and close to the site of power

Modified based on the ordnance survey map of the *Sartapula* (from Kurdistan housing and urban development organisation) and the conducted interview with Mr. Hâji Mohammad Amin and old photo of the city which was taken in the period of *Naser o-Din Shah* 1848-1896.

7.5.4. The Fourth Pillar

The last pillar is traceable back to the *Mashâiekh* family, the status of *Mardukh*'s family, who were recognised as the outstanding *Ulamâ* in the whole region of Kurdistan and held the office of *Imam Juma* - the prayer leader - of the City. As explained, the status of this family

was more in touch with the people so that they played an intermediary role in solving the problems between ruler and ruled. More importantly, they had a key role in mobilizing the people for or against the governors in relation to emerging socio-political issues. From these points, their house was located outside of the City wall of the ruling class' quarter, adjacent to the principal route in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter next to the *Bazaarché*, where it was accessible to all the people even from the countryside (figure 6.10). This point distinguishes the status of Mardukh's family, as religious *Ulamâ* independent from the governor and close to the *Umma* or the common people, and distinct from the religious officials discussed in the previous section who were dependent on the prince or governor and who had their homes within the city wall and detached from the commoners.

7.5.5. *The Status of Dâruqa and Kadkhudâ*

We are now looking at lesser officials concerned with security aspects of the City and the quarters.

Apart from the pillars of the administrative affairs of the City discussed above, other subdivisions of that structure are seldom mentioned in the sources, this is especially so for the administration system in the quarters. The only points relating to such roles are the physical signs belonging to the status of *Dâruqa* recognisable in a mosque named *Dâruqa* close to the site of the bazaar and *his* house in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* beside to the *Darabâyân* River and the *Kuché* running towards the *Qula* mosque (figure 7.18). Other points can be found in the work of Ayazi (1992: 488), especially in his account of the bazaar.

Each bazaar [four lines of the bazaar] possessed an *Asas* [guard], who alone kept watch over the security of the bazaar at night to prevent robbers entering through the holes in the bazaar's domes, however each *Guzar* [each line of the bazaar was called *Guzar*, a passage, due to its specific function] was enclosed by a strong gateway.

In addition, in the interview with Rangavary³⁹, when he is talking about *Reza-khân*'s arrival in the city⁴⁰, there is a mention of the *Kadkhudâ*: "the quarter's *Kadkhudâ* were invited to the assembly in honour of Reza-khan on the site of *Kalakajâr*" [the site which is near to the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter].

There are no more details concerning these administrative posts in the city. However, those reveal some similarities with other Iranian cities in the period of *Qajâr* dynasty (1794-1925).

³⁹ Tape recorded interview in 1999

⁴⁰ The date of his arrival was not mentioned in the interview with Rangavary. However it was the first time after his coronation (April 1926) that he visited the city.

As Lambton (2001: 609) states, “each fortress or town has its own governor named *Dâruqa* in charge of city security at night, in which task he was assisted by officials called *Asas*”. Furthermore, she refers to the status of *Kadkhudâ* in the quarters under the authority of *Dâruqa* and again responsible for order and security in the quarters.

Due to the lack of information, it is difficult to discuss the issue of city administration any further. The purpose of the background given above was to outline the management aspect of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter. As explained, the only information acquired is that the quarter had an official with the title of *Kadkhudâ*. There is no information concerning his relationship with the *Dâruqa*, or whether he was under the control of the *Dâruqa* as in other Iranian cities or whether he was different and had a specific status. We do not know what his relation with the people of quarter was, nor whether was he nominated by them.

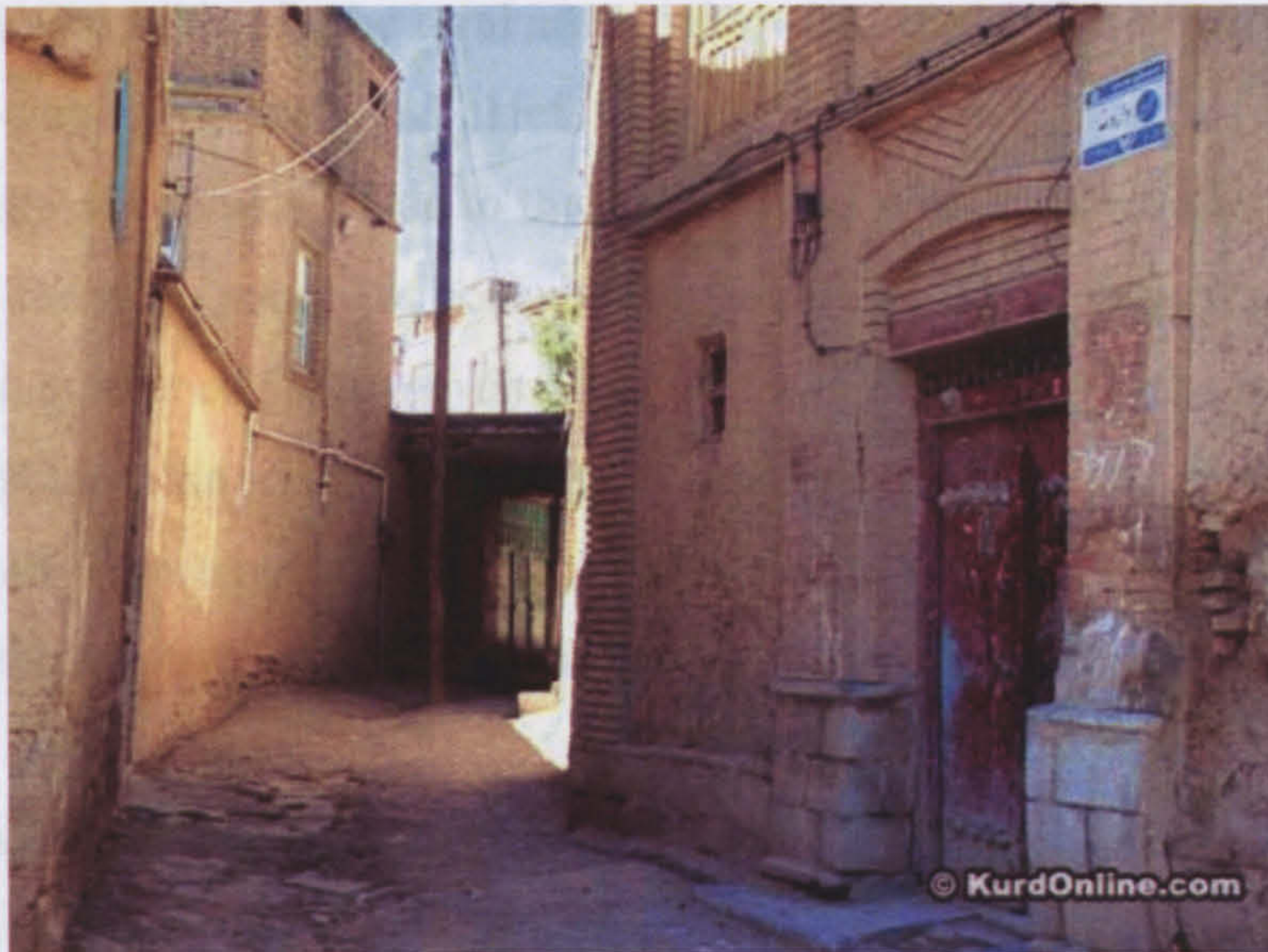


Figure 7. 18. *Dâruqa Kuché*/alley and the entrance of his house, source: Kurdonline.com

The *Kuché* is running towards the *Qula* mosque: the typology of the entrance door of *Dâruqa*'s house is traceable back to the last period of *Qajâr* dynasty (the specification of this type will be brought forward in later sections).

In the light of the above points, the subject was discussed with interviewees. *Sheikh Ebrâhim*⁴¹ mentions the name of *Kadkhudâ K'ulé* in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, who was appointed by the government similar to the *Asas* of the bazaar.

What I remember is that he [*Kadkhudâ K'ulé*] usually proclaimed across the quarter at night using this citation: be careful, something was stolen in the quarter of ... please keep your doors closed.

⁴¹ Interviewed (17.09.04)

Sheikh Ebrâhim went on to say that, in order to carry out his duty *Kadkhudâ K'ulé* usually used some other people to help him. He refers to the *Dâruqa*'s, function in relation to the bazaar in that the bazaar's gates were opened only in the presence of the *Dâruqa*. This point is in line with the view of Lambton (2001: 610), who said that "in 13th/19th century the functions of *Dâruqa* tended to be confined to the bazaar". This notion together with the words of Rangavary⁴² highlight the importance of the *Kadkhudâ*'s function as being greater than that of *Dâruqa* in the city because of his presence in the assembly held in honour of Reza khan's visit, Rangavary just states the name of the quarter's *Kadkhudâ* but not those of any other officials.

The point mentioned was discussed with Marufi⁴³. He explained the same issue with some further knowledge concerning the status of the *Kadkhudâ*. For him, the *Kadkhudâ* had a similar function to that in the rural areas, where he acted as a mediator between the *khân* (the title of the nobility or the tribal chiefs) and the people and, thus, has been "incorporated into the hierarchy of officials". Due to their close links with local people, the *Kadkhudâ*, in rural areas, was the main source of consultation about any governmental actions (Lambton 1991: 349). In the quarter of *Qatar-chyân* as an independent quarter in the matter of the nomination of the *Kadkhudâ*, he identified it first as mostly being the choice of the inhabitants which they generally conferred on the most respectable man of the quarter, and it would then be subject to the approval of the *Dâruqa*.

Considering the above facts, it can be claimed that the administrative aspect of the city (apart from the four pillars and the status of *Dâruqa*, who was more concerned with the function of the bazaar and regulating the crafts' affairs) was essentially personal, rather than institutional, bound to the dominant role of the *Wâli*. In the quarters, especially the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, the relatively official status was highlighted by the presence of the *Kadkhudâ* as mediator between the government and the people, and in so doing regulating the security of the quarter at night. There is no other information explaining his function in other affairs of the quarter. It means that when there is no external interference other informal agents were engaged in regulating the quarter's affairs, namely the *Ulamâ* and *Rish-séfidân* (elders), based on "perceived homogeneity", which can be defined as an internal self-government structure. The essence and function of these internal agents is a result of the socio-political

⁴² Tape recorded interview in 1999

⁴³ Interviewed (14.11.2004)

circumstances mentioned which sandwiched Kurdish society for a long period leading to a unified community, and mutual-assistance between them based on the nature of this society and the professional affinities. Therefore, as it was recognised as an integrated community (Hairatsajadi⁴⁴), less conflict occurred, thus, they were more able to govern themselves because it was easy to agree on decisions and have a general consensus in a structure so highly based on neighbourliness (Hambly 1991).

In supporting the above views, especially how the people regulated their affairs and conflicts which may arise from differing opinions, we can look to the accounts of the interviewees.

I have never seen or heard (from my father) any particular conflict between our neighbours concerning building activities. We lived as an extended family within which any other minor problems were usually solved by the manner of *Kadkhudâ-manishi*⁴⁵ (Khurshid-laqa Abubakri⁴⁶).

As the concept of neighbourliness was so strong in the past life of the city of *Sennah* [*Sanandaj*], I do not remember any conflict which was solved by external agents [governmental ones]. They usually knew each other and lived as close relatives [sister and brother], therefore it was easy for them to manage their affairs (Hairatsajadi⁴⁷).

In these quotations, we can see how the people regulated their affairs without recourse to more formal institutions. What can be recognised is that living in such a sense of neighbourliness minimized the conflicts between them leading to the emergence of informal cooperation to resolve problems. From this perspective, they were directed first to solve their problems internally by referring to the elders of the quarter and the Imam of the mosque or ultimately to the *Ulamâ* (the outstanding characters of the quarter: *Mardukh* and *Mujtahedi*). Consequently, this point supports the notion of Rapoport (1977: 257); “where neighboring is important, different forms of [internal] cooperation may emerge than in areas where membership in formal organisations is a substitute”.

⁴⁴ Interviewed (29.08.2004)

⁴⁵ In this method of solving problems, one or two elders act as mediator between both diverging persons. They usually invite them for a meeting within which each explains their views and the third party or parties try to find the points of convergence which benefit both.

⁴⁶ Interviewed (15.08.2004)

⁴⁷ Interviewed (29.08.2004)

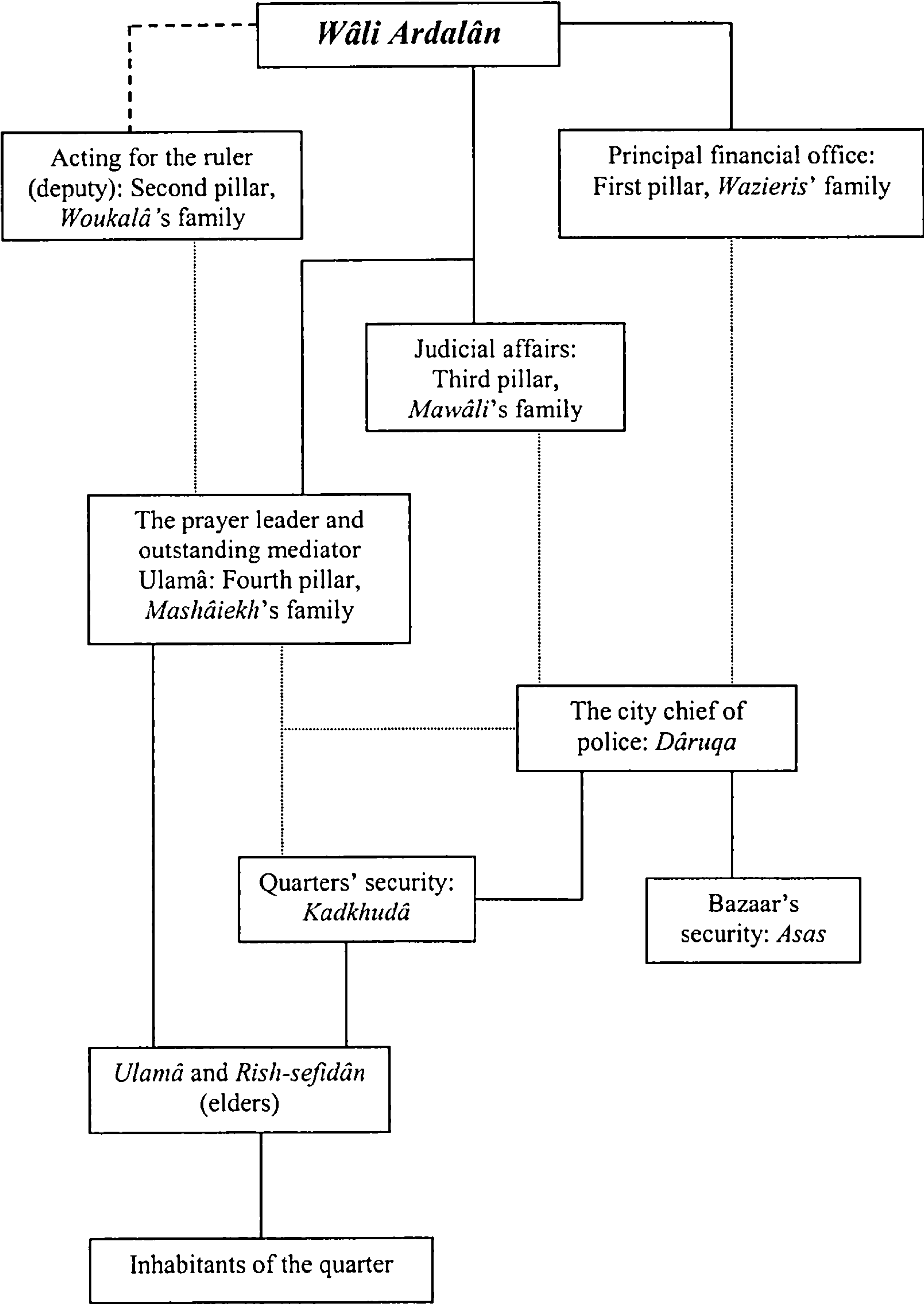


Figure 7. 19. The administration structure of *Ardalân's* government

7.6. Street System

After analysing the socio-cultural issues, we are now moving to sections that are more urban-morphological to examine the street pattern of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter and related features that are defined as experiential qualities of physical space in the context of those socio-cultural factors discussed above.

As explained, the principal route functioned as main artery and collector in merging the traffic lines of the quarter towards the City centre and that from the other quarters, mostly from the ruling quarter, toward the recreational spaces on the slopes of the *Âwear* Mountains (figures 5.41, 6.8). It was recognised as the main artery of the quarter linked to the backbone of the city which contained one of the major *Bazaarché*, the focus of the socio-economical activities of the quarter and even the countryside with a strong link with the poles of powers. This implies a concept of street with a route of communication. While retaining this concept, it is transformed into a route of distribution due to its link to the other streets of the quarter. From these points, it influenced the overall structure of the street system of the quarter so that the primary thoroughfares mainly branched out from it towards the two parts of the quarter. These thoroughfares come as arms of the principal route to feed the secondary streets (*Kuchê*), which circled the boundary of clustered houses. These were recognised as urban islands that contained the basic units of the Islamic city, where confined areas of courtyard houses are located. From this point, the spatial structure of the quarter can be recognised as a unified graph so that the other streets were arranged around the principal route in a hierarchical system of distributor, “feeder” and “collector” routes (figures 7.20, 7.21).

- 1) *Qatâr-chyân Bazaarché*
- 2) *Wakil's Bazaarché*
- a) *Bâq-e Khusràû-âwâ*
- b) *Bâq-e Wakil*

The principal route (1) acts as a backbone in merging the stream of pedestrians from other thoroughfares in a relatively hierarchical pattern.

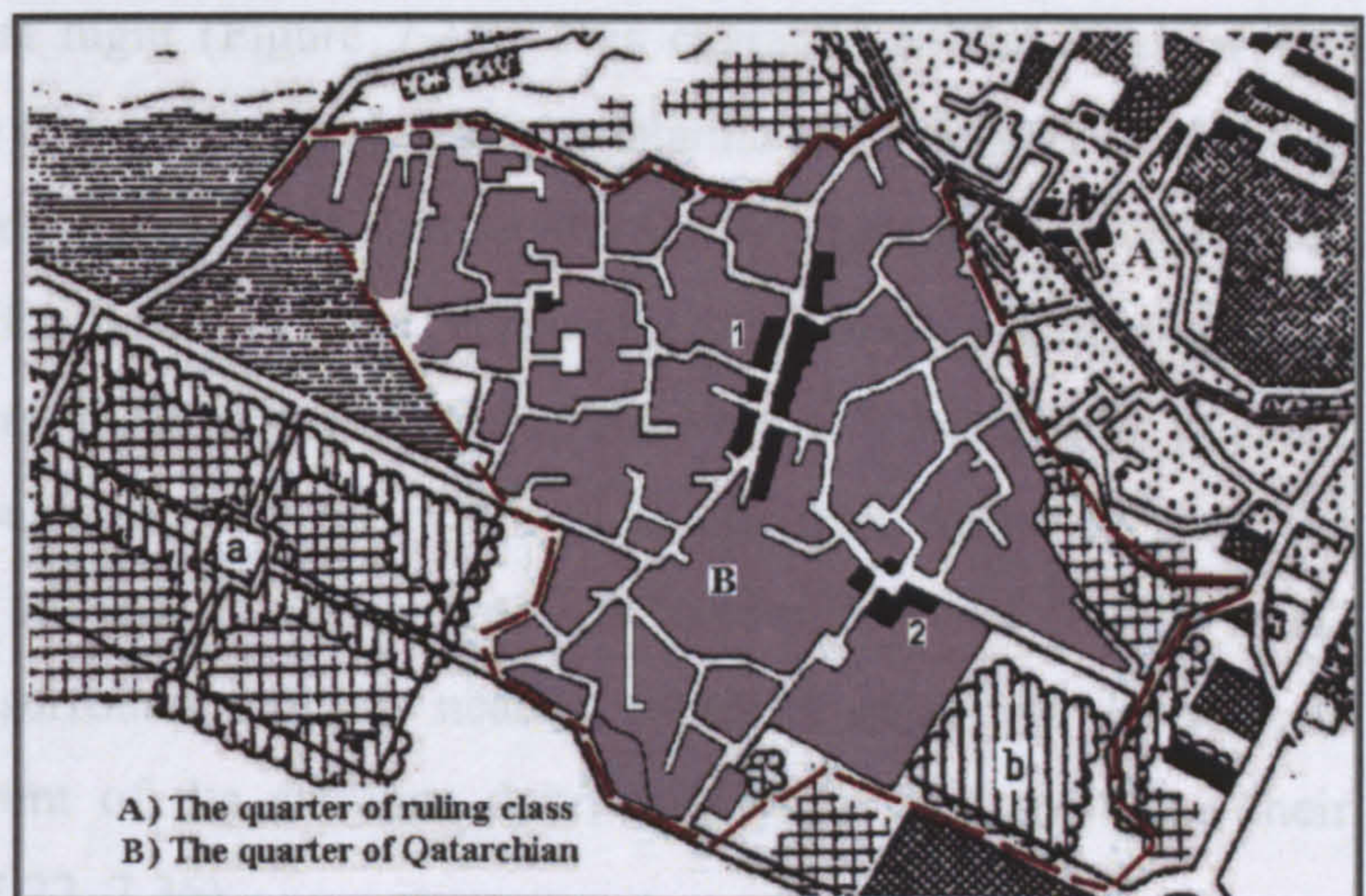


Figure 7. 20. The street system of the quarter, Source: Alten 1958

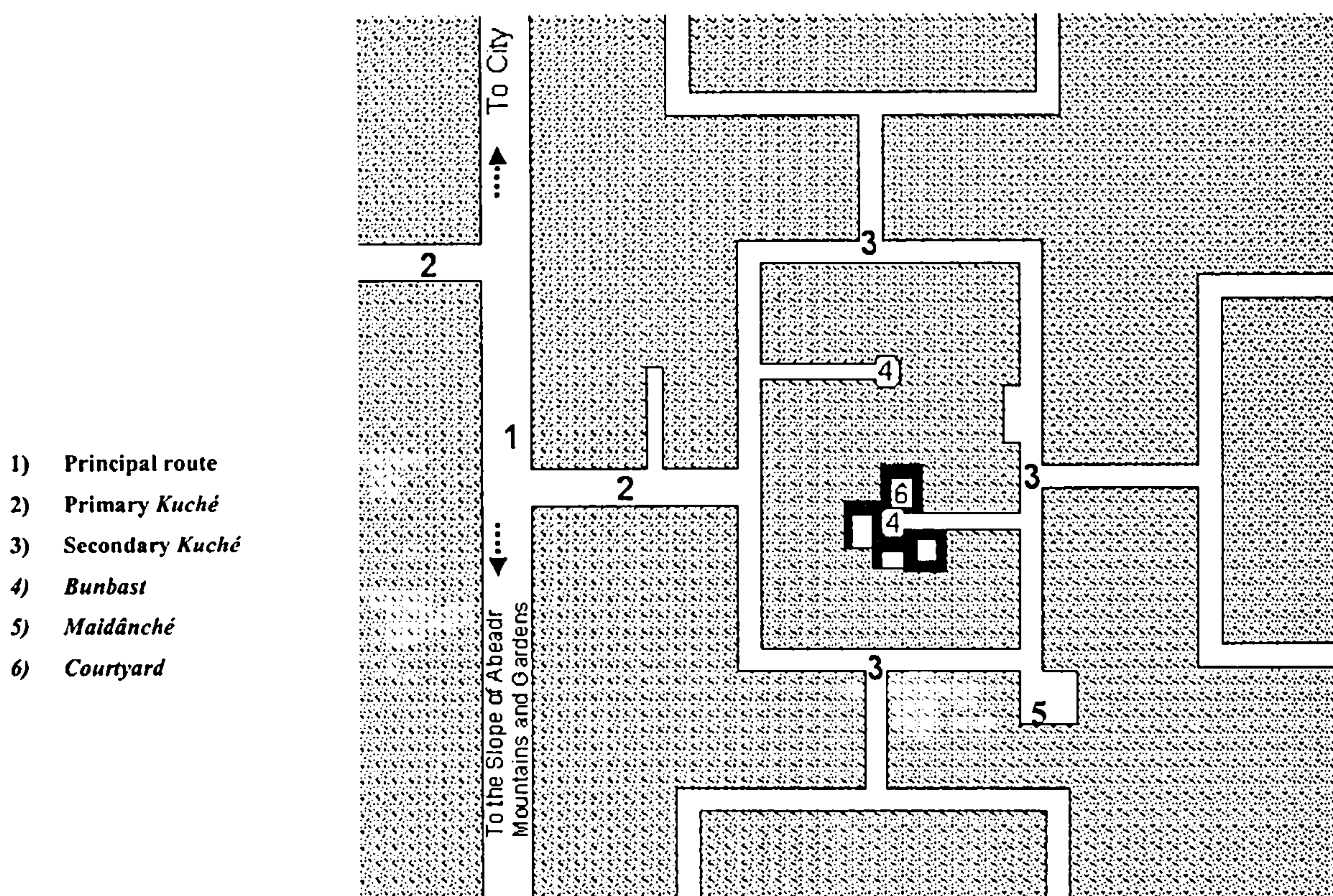


Figure 7. 21. Model of the access system in the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân*

The last stage of the above system, as it does not have an outlet and continuation, is recognised as the *Bunbast/cul-de-sac*, which defines a new realm of semi-public/semi-private spaces among close neighbours. This was recognised as a widespread form of street in the typical Islamic city, which characterizes the sense of individuality and seclusion of private areas from thoroughfares among close neighbours (Monteguín, 1983). In some cases, it was owned in common by the houses as it was also enclosed by a common gate, which was usually closed and barred at night (Figure 7.22). This character of the *Bunbast* was recognised as “a basic unit in the self-policing nature of the Islamic city” (Morris 1994: 389). As it faced away from the realm of the public thoroughfare, this structure also created an intense silence and tranquillity for its inhabitants, especially for women’s gatherings and their socialization with neighbours. In some cases, it takes the form of a *Maidânché* (a small square) set back from the thoroughfare with the width of its entrance restricted from the public realm in order to define the space as a semi-private/semi-public one (figures 7.21, 7.23). This is a confined space surrounded by the nearby houses of neighbours, where, as explained, women can sit in front of the entrance door, and while they socialize, their children can play freely (figures 7.22, 7.36).

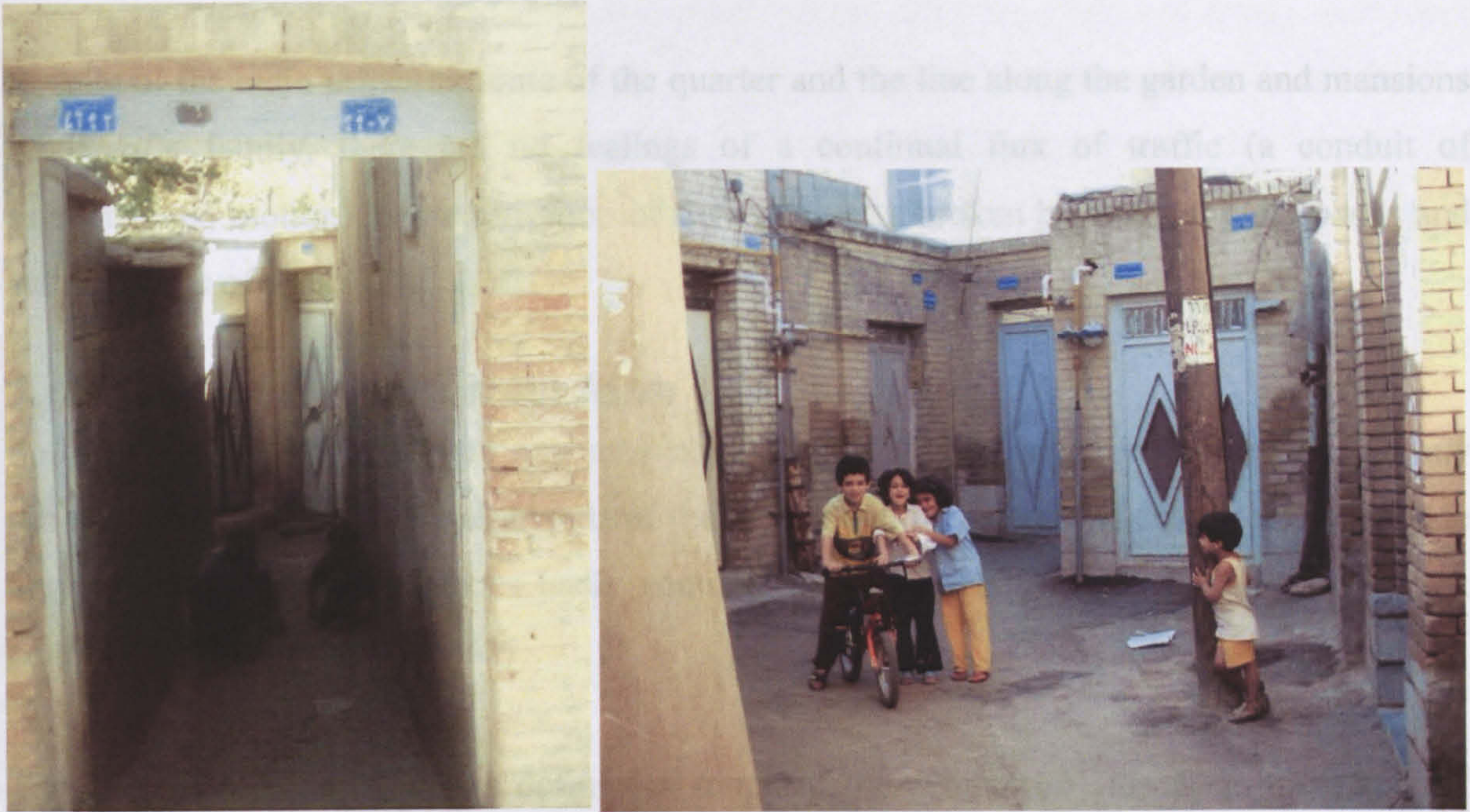


Figure 7.22. Two types of *Bunbasts* in the circulation system of the quarter, source: author August 2003

One with a shared gate which usually is barred after sunset, and the second in the form of a *Maidâncbé* (a small square) at the end of *Bunbast* which contained many entrance doors in proximity to define the semi-private space for free socialisation of the neighbours so that the children can play freely.

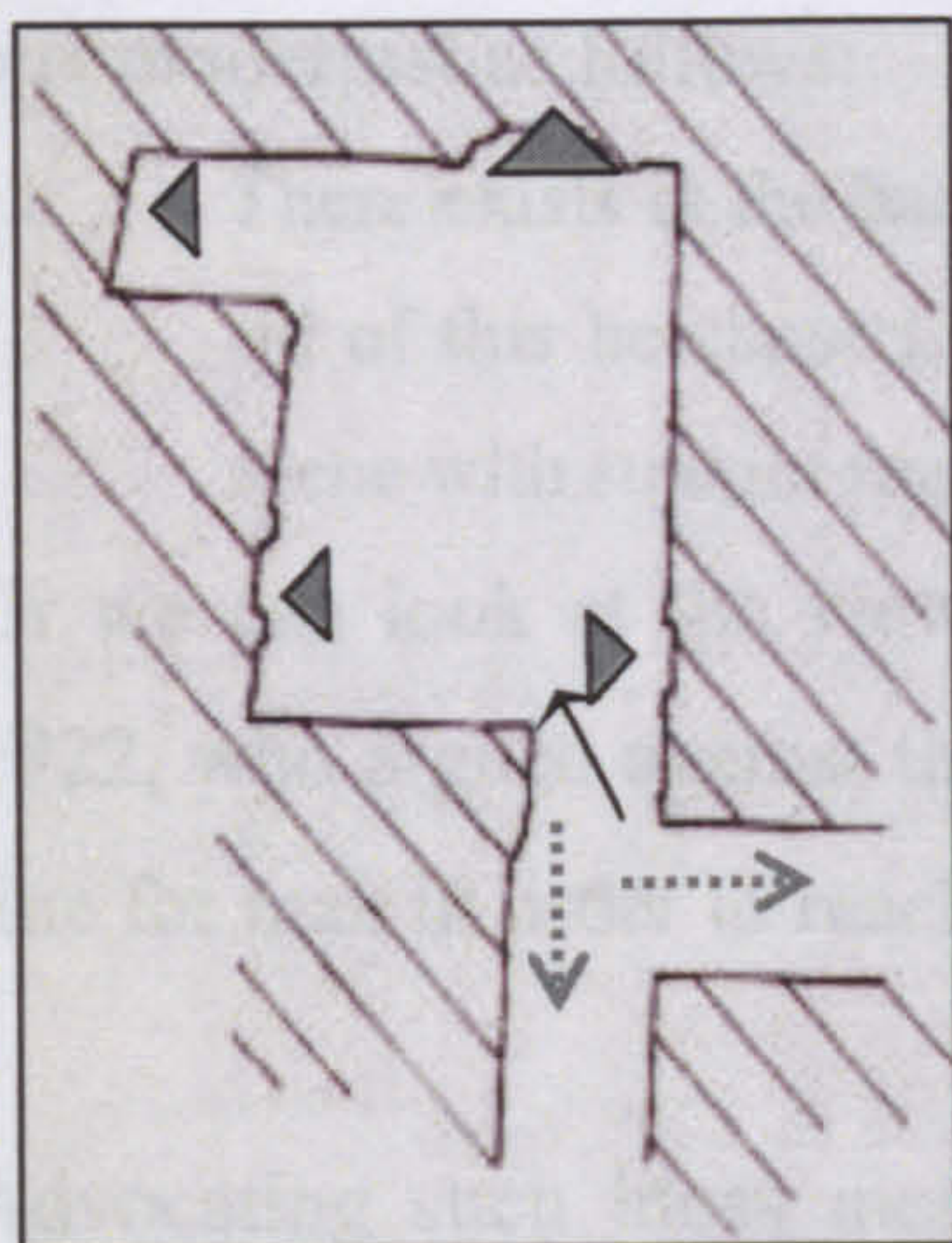


Figure 7.23. Another type of *Bunbast* in the form of a *Maidâncbé*, source: author August 2003

It set back from the thoroughfare as it defined another spatial concept in the circulation system of the quarter as semi-private/semi-public space.

To sum up, the street system above symbolizes and controls the transition from public through semi-public and semi-private areas to the private domain. It is a means of signalling “the changes of possession, of territory, of control and behaviour” (Lawson 2001). In this type of street system, there is no particular pattern of linkage to the hierarchical thoroughfares and they could be connected to any of the three types even the principal route.

In spite of the main principal route of the quarter and the line along the garden and mansions of *Wakil's* family, there are no feelings of a continual flux of traffic (a conduit of uninterrupted motion) as the sensation of flow is always broken by sharp angular bends and sudden shifts of directions.

7.6.1. Rationality of urban form

Following the above analysis one may ask whether in this loose structure there is any rationality behind the physical layouts of the streets and the islands of cluster houses, or are they merely “a tangle of blocks badly ventilated by a labyrinth of twisted alleys and dark courts”? (De Planhol 1970: 453)

The concept of rationality was defined in terms of the geometrical forms in urban spaces. From this point, the urban form of the Islamic city, with tri-fold spaces and its circulation system, was criticized by De Planhol (1970: 455) as “an anarchic maze in contrast with ancient towns” (Madanipour 1998: 230). This is in line with the view of modernism, which criticized the medieval urban form in Europe. For example, Cullen (1971) quoted the view of one modernist as follows:

There exists at the back of our minds a feeling that could we only start again we would get rid of this hotchpotch and make all new and fine and perfect. We would create an orderly scene with straight roads and with buildings that conformed in height and style.

Or we can look at the view of Le Corbusier in *The Pack Donkey's Way and Man's Way* 1922, who argued against the pack-donkey which meanders along, and preferred the straight line for man in order to reach his goal.

Advocating such ideas means ignoring all the efforts of human beings imprinted on the environment which have evolved over centuries according to strong social-cultural and environmental rationalities, especially when we acknowledge that “the man-made environment where he lives is not a mere practical tool or the result of arbitrary happenings, it has structure and embodies meanings”, because it is obvious that “well-being implies quality of place” (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 50; Norberg-Schulz 2000: 31).

More importantly, we should also emphasise that the quality of a human settlement lies in the richness of contrasts which it offers not in the monotony of its structure as created by

straight roads, because “the human mind reacts to the difference between things, and when two pictures are in the mind at the same time, a vivid contrast is felt and the town becomes visible in a deeper sense” (Cullen 1961: 11). In this sense, the traditional Islamic city combined both geometric form – in its main elements – and organic form – in connecting these elements, and in the structure of the quarters. This leads us to the concept of duality in the city structure and that the local quality can be attained by involving the spatial organization in tension between geometric and organic forms, what Oliver (1983: 143, 144) defined as binarism in the evolution of the Islamic city.

It is my view that the duality of the geometric and the organic is fundamental; that the formal and the vernacular are necessary, each to the understanding of the whole. From this point, I believe that Isfahân gained its strength, and its unity, beauty and completeness from its binarism.

In the city of *Sanandaj*, the view against the traditional cities, mostly Islamic ones can be criticized by considering the overall organisation of the city into identifiable urban quarters according to the common occupation of its population. This was recognised as a rational solution for small cities due to its cultural homogeneity which enabled the city to promote its economic function in the region and in relation to the other cities (Kheirabadi 1991). Also the city was laid out with the most distinguishable subdivision of urban space by the separation of the citadel and the inner town, as the place of nobles, from the rest of the city. This subdivision was a rational consideration to accommodate the ruling class in order to increase their security, and to some extent to distinguish their status from the commoners by the image of city walls and the grandeur of their houses, especially the entrance doors (figure 7.24). Or we can look at the central situation of the bazaar, with its geometrical form, as an important component in unifying the different parts of the city. This is “the place that can be used by anyone, under any circumstances”, where the essence of Islamic principles is revealed by maintaining the concept of the centre and integrating the streams of life (Oliver 1983; Kheirabadi 1991: 83). And finally, the course of the principal route is strongly linked with the power relations so that it was defined in the direction of the *Qalâ* instead of the bazaar and continued towards the second place of power, *Bâq* and *Emârat-e Khusrau-âwâ*. Its importance was such that in the past it was recognised as the main artery of the City (Rangawary)⁴⁸ which had a major role in organisation of the place (figure 6.8). This potential of the principal route in the movement system of the City, especially in its urban structure,

⁴⁸ Tape recorded interview in 1999

characterizes the role of power in defining the space. This would represent the presence of an authority over the main structure of the city which imposed an order on the built space.

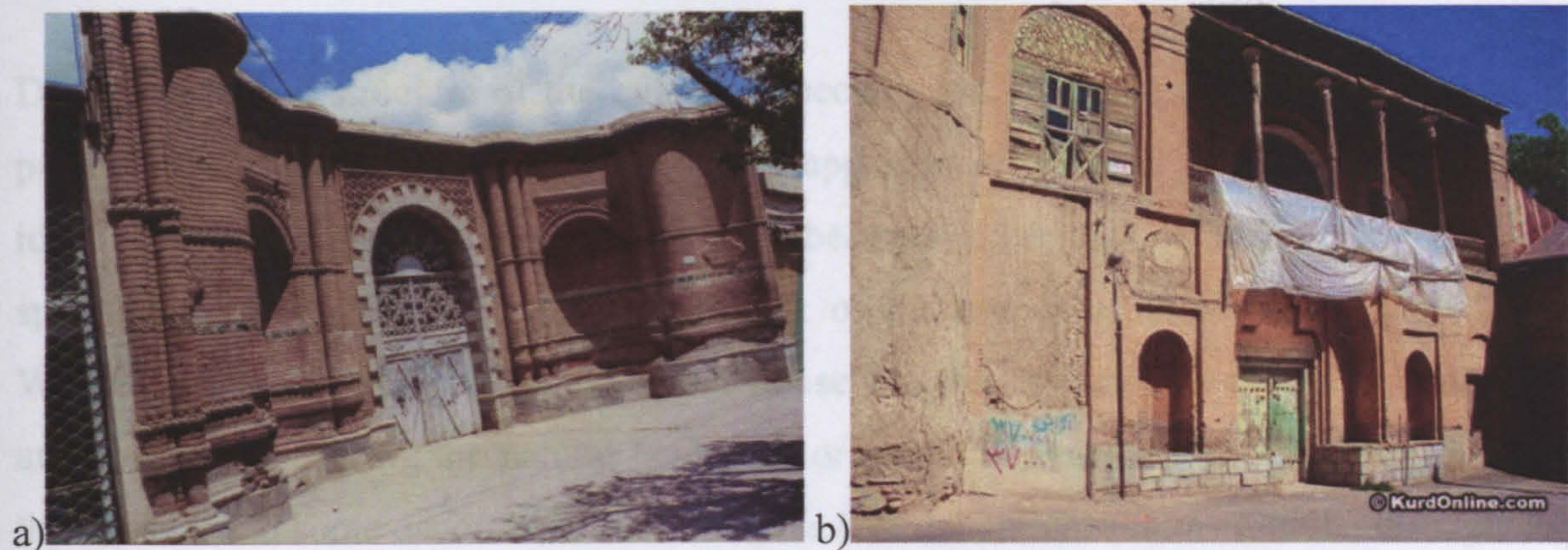


Figure 7. 24. The grandeur of the gateways to the houses of nobles in the quarter of ruling class and *Qatâr-chyan*, sources: first from the collection of *Tishk* photography, second from *kurdonline.com*

This grandeur of architecture can be recognised as a rational material expression of power and wealth. 1) *Ghiási's* house close to the *Wakil's* mansion 2) The entrance of *Asaf's* mansion along the *Kuché-derâz* – Long Street – towards the *Jumaa* mosque

The points above are the general evidence which show the order and rationale behind the overall physical form of the city, especially the implementation of line and centre (the course of principal route along which lie the three centres; the *Qalâ* with its complementary spatial element of a square, the *Bazaarché* and the mansion and garden complexes of *Khusrau-âwâ*) which entails the tension between the organic (the course of route) and geometric notions (the structure of two poles of powers) (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Oliver 1983) (figures 6.7 and 6.8). More evidence will be pointed out later in examining the relationships between the houses and the street system of the quarter.

7.6.2. The Experiential Qualities of Physical Space in the Circulation System of the Quarter

In the process of managing the quarter's affairs, building activities were determined on mutual respect between neighbours with regard to access to breeze⁴⁹, and to the sun and the view⁵⁰ (Rainer 1977; Abu-Ghazze 1994). In this manner of building, the circulation movement, between the houses, gained particular spatial diversity as it did not follow a

⁴⁹ This was confirmed by the saying of the prophet: Do you know the rights of the neighbour... you must not build to exclude the breeze from him, unless you have his permission (Karim quoted in Abu-Ghazze 1994: 55).

⁵⁰ According to Rainer (1977: 51), there was a tradition in Iranian town planning that, "you shall build your house such that you obtain sun and view, but you shall not take away sun and view from your neighbour"

preconceived plan due to the absence of any formal agents. As explained, the *Kadkhudâ* was more concerned with the security of the quarter at night not its building activities.

Due to the social structure of the quarter, especially the co-existence of rich and poor, the passer by can see in the diversity of house appearance, different attitudes to manifesting identity, so that his eyes never become tired because in each sequence he can view a new spatial quality, especially in the setting back of the houses or vice versa (Rainer 1977). Where the status of the owner allowed, the house was distinguished by a long *Bar-haiwân*⁵¹ - an open veranda facing the natural landscape or public domain in front of the main part of the house – and some decoration, the setting back of the entrance door from the through way, defining another spatial structure in circulation system of the quarter, or making a chicane arrangement along the streets and presenting ornamentation on the gateway proclaiming the owner's status (figure 7.25). Where high status is absent, the house was constructed with a simple appearance with a small *Bar-haiwân* but still in harmony with surrounding houses which can be partly interpreted as modest houses “striving for dignity and respect” (figure 7.26). In other words, this point expresses “solidarity with the neighbours”, especially by using the same shape and structure but in its simplest way it offers “a sort of tribute” to the community. More importantly, where this status, could not be presented in the realm of public spaces of the thoroughfares, especially in harmony with surrounding houses, it was integrated into cluster houses with a shared *Maidânché* at the end of a *Bunbast*. Because here, on the one hand, the status of adjacent neighbours is largely the same and, on the other hand, the houses were set back from the thoroughfare, thus, the values of presentation of the higher status diminished.

⁵¹ *Bar-haiwân* comprises two words: *Bar* means front and *Haiwân* is the right word for veranda – there is a similar word in Farsi - *Eyvân*. It means an open veranda in front of the main part of the house.

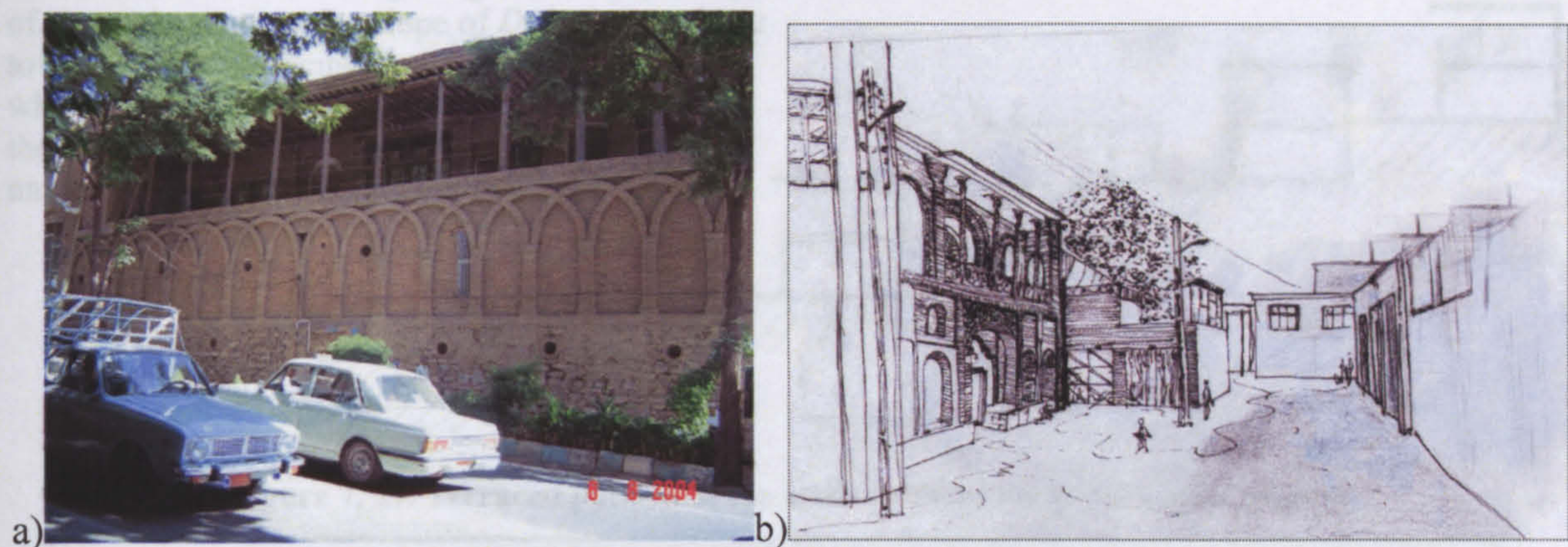


Figure 7. 25. Higher status houses with long *Bar-haiwân* and the setting back of the entrance from the public thoroughfare, sources: a) by author August 2004, b) from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi 2003

a) The mansion of *Wakil*'s family looking southwards towards the slopes of the *Âwear* Mountains, b) the house of *Ghiasi* with a *Bar-haiwân* overlooking the thoroughfare towards *Wakil*'s *Bazarché*.

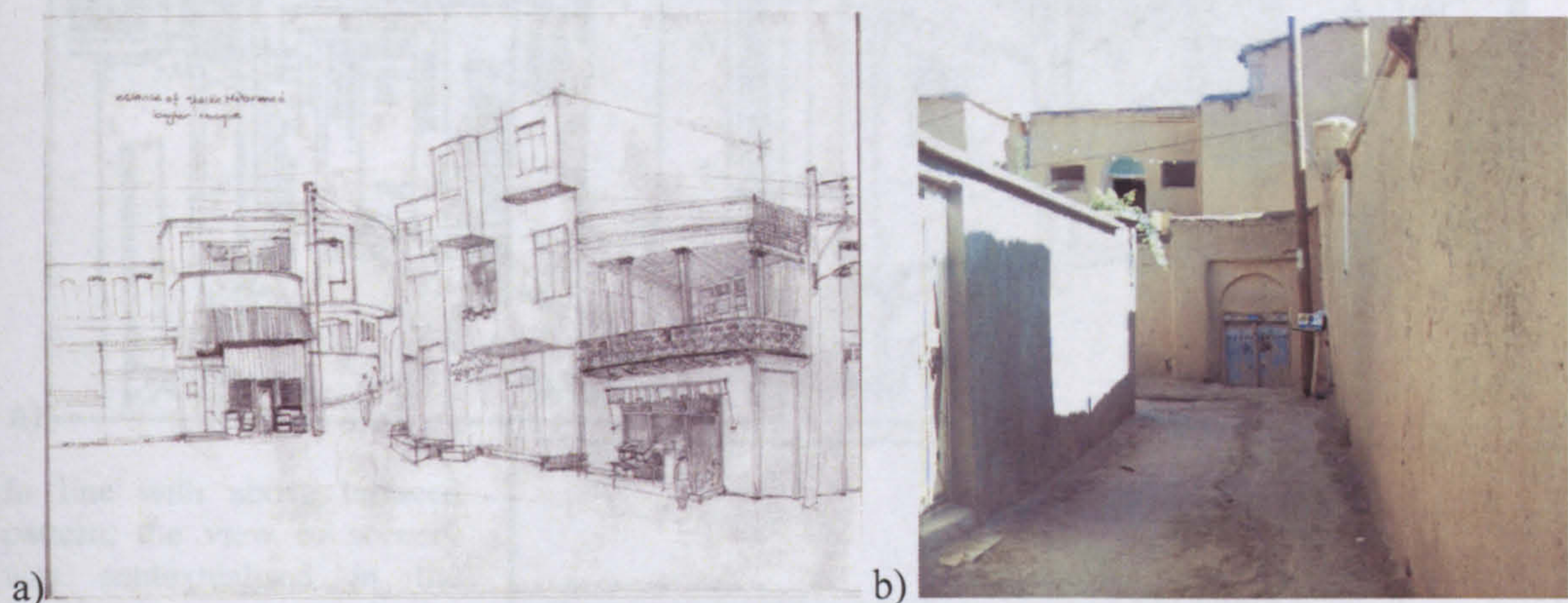


Figure 7. 26. Modest houses with a small *Bar-haiwân* and simple decoration of the gateway

Sources: a) sketched by Mr. Shaho, b) by author August 2003

The above spatial qualities were enriched by maintaining a relationship with nature and distant scenery through the feature of a *Bar-haiwân*. This can be recognised as the quality of the terraced order in mountain areas (figure 7.27) so that one can experience the distant and the close sceneries simultaneously. It indicates the presence of that place in this place (figure 7.28). This structure is not a prevailing feature in other Iranian cities located on the central plateau, where the features of the terrain did not support such a spatial pattern. From this point, the layout of the City quarters, especially the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* which was located on the slope of the *Âwear* Mountains and in some parts overlooking the *Dara-bayân* River and other parts of the City (figures 7.27, 7.28), contained particular visual qualities so that an observer can experience different images throughout the course of the various passage ways.

Schematic section showing the general morphology of the settlements on the slope of *Dara-bayân* River towards the north facing the quarter of ruling class, which provided the possibility of a view towards the outside and vice versa. In this pattern, the natural form of the site was not distorted.

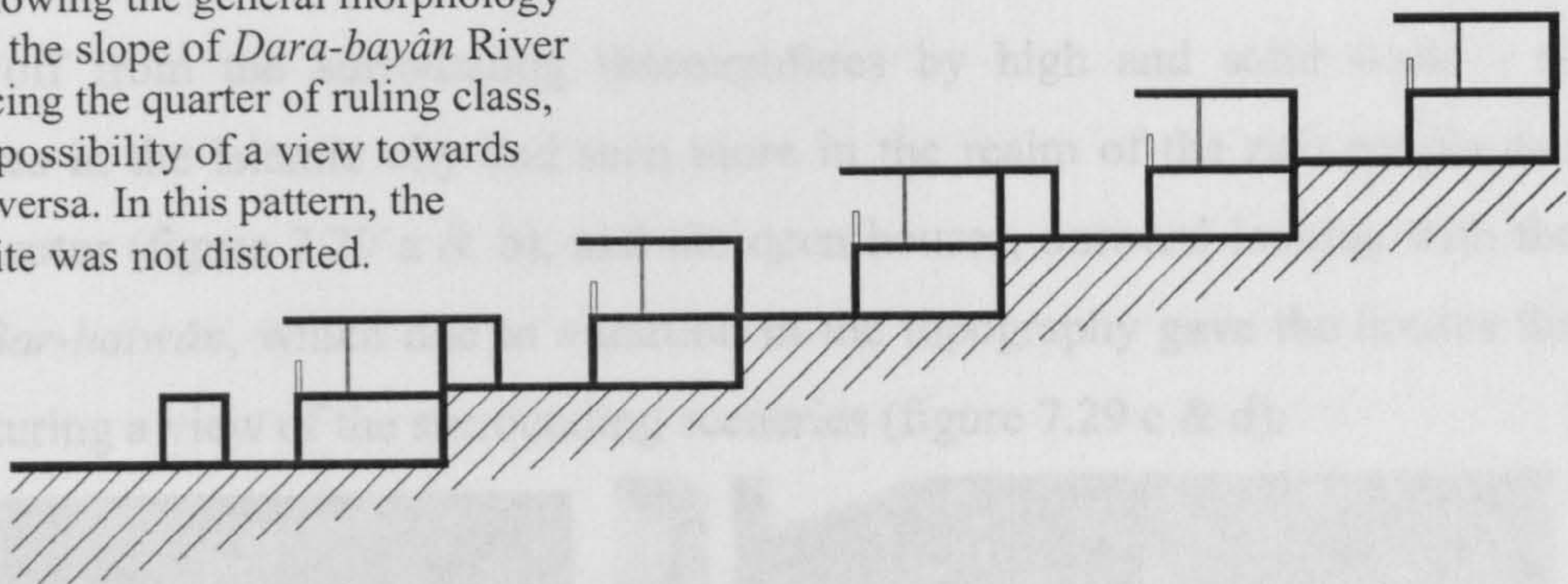
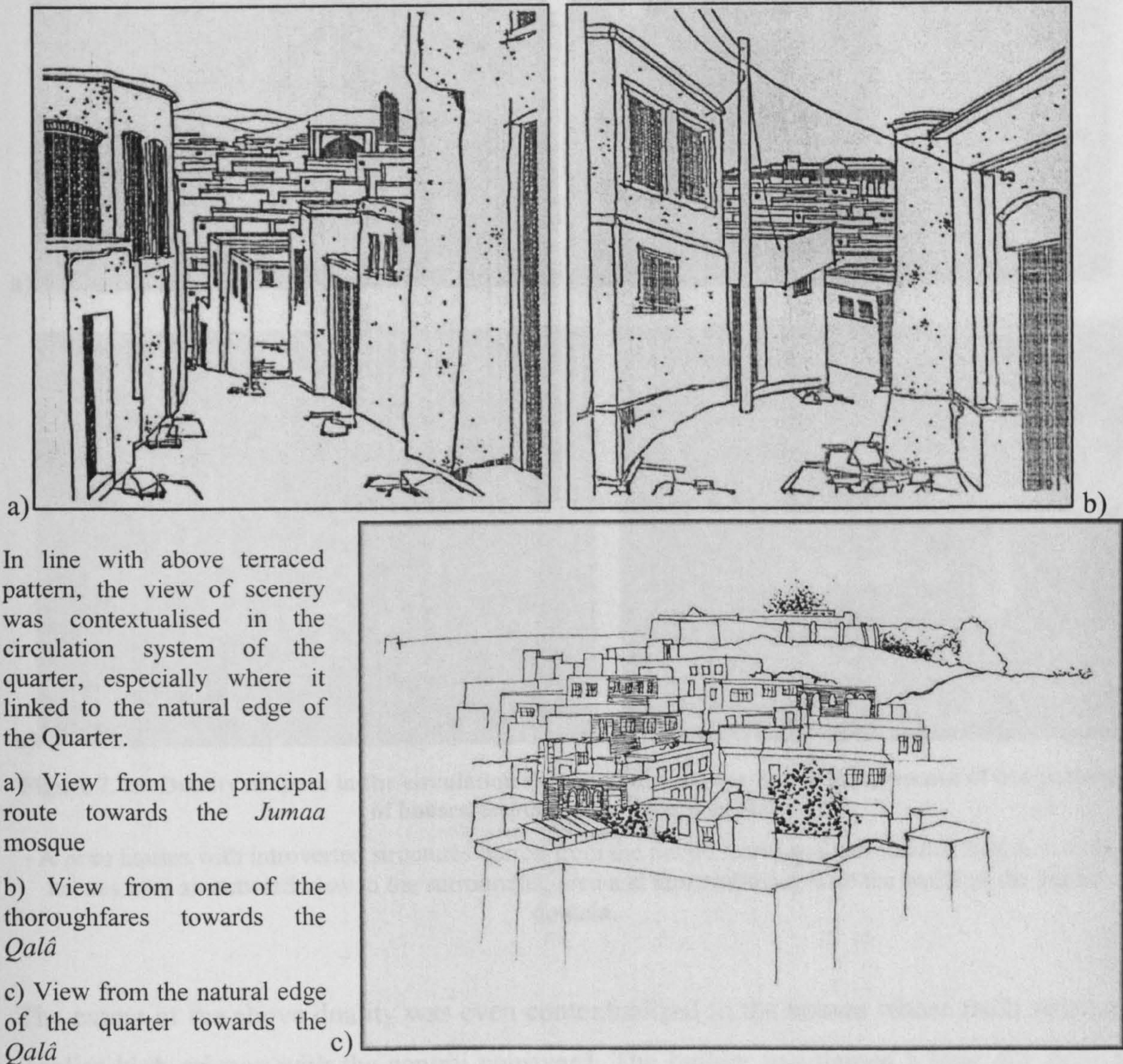


Figure 7. 27. Terraced pattern of the settlements in the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter



In line with above terraced pattern, the view of scenery was contextualised in the circulation system of the quarter, especially where it linked to the natural edge of the Quarter.

- a) View from the principal route towards the *Jumaa* mosque
- b) View from one of the thoroughfares towards the *Qalâ*
- c) View from the natural edge of the quarter towards the *Qalâ*

Figure 7. 28. Terraced pattern of settlements and qualities of space in the circulation system of the quarter, sources: first and second drawings from Bahrami 2001: 25, third drawing from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi 2003

In the circulation system of the quarter, because of the social structure discussed earlier, the duality of place can also be noted as the observer can view the blank houses - introvert

enclosures, shut off from the surrounding thoroughfares by high and solid walls - as widespread features in the Islamic city and seen more in the realm of the rich people and notables of the quarter (figure 7.29 a & b), and the open houses, outward looking with the main feature of *Bar-haiwân*, which due to variation in the topography gave the houses the possibility of capturing a view of the surrounding sceneries (figure 7.29 c & d).

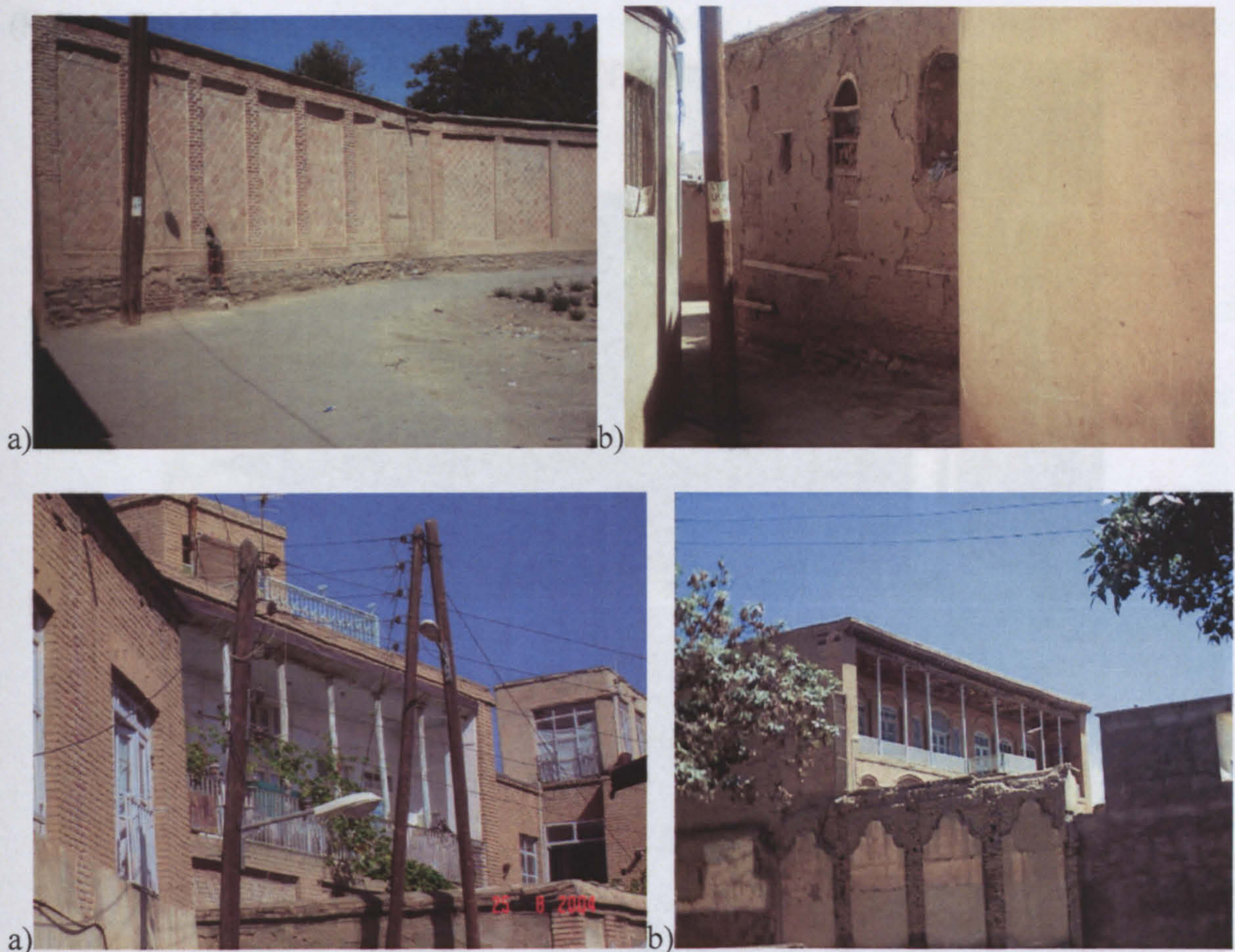


Figure 7. 29. Duality of space in the circulation system of the quarter due to the presence of two patterns of houses, source: author August 2003/4

A & b) houses with introverted structures barred from the public world and surrounding nature, c & d) houses with an outward view to the surrounding area and more intimacy with the world of the public domain.

The extent of the above duality was even contextualized in the houses whose main structure implies high privacy with the central courtyard. The builder maintained a long *Bar-haiwân* (in this case it is called *Khulâm-gardêsh*) facing the public thoroughfare on the second floor in order to provide a wide view of scenery for its residents (figure 7.25 a). The visual quality of the surrounding scenery influenced the attitude of builder so that he did not leave the walls blank but produced rhythmic decoration on the walls which mediates the form of surrounding nature. However, this rhythmic decoration was not affordable to the commoners

or even the rich middle class people as this kind of remarkable decoration was only used on the mansions of the *Wakil* family, as the main pole of power in the quarter, and on the summer quarters of the *Wâli*. From another point of view, the mingling of tight and open structures, simplicity and complexity can be defined as a “kind of hybrid form that make reference to different sources of ideas, levels of meaning” and, one may add, of status (Kellett, 2003: 96).

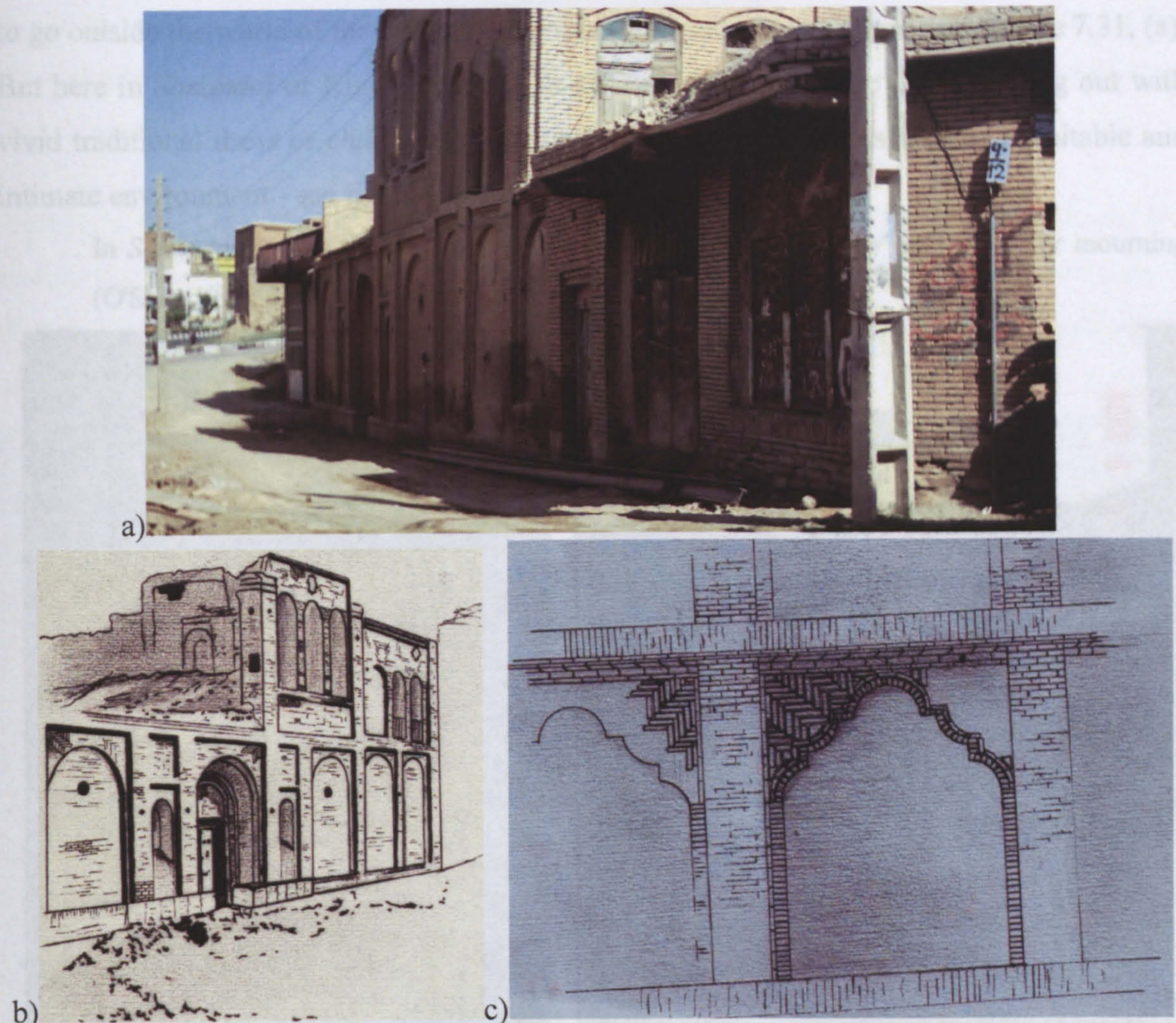


Figure 7.30. Visual qualities of the exterior walls facing the public domain, sources: a) by author August 2003, b and c) from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi 2003

This point can be recognised as a logical response to the qualities of the surrounding natural landscape and as signs of the high status of the owner.

As explained earlier, the concepts above are what to some extent distinguish the built form of the city from other cities mostly in the dry-arid zone where architecture had to express its defiance to an inhospitable environment, thus, it “called for a tight architectural envelope with protected interior spaces, as independent as possible from the outside world” (Bianca 2000: 55). There architecture aims at the exclusion of sand and sun and therefore

complements the natural environment by the basic architectural gesture of the courtyard, which is enclosed, to isolate it from the surrounding environment, and to maintain a microcosm of inhabitable environment comprising some images of paradise; water and trees usually fruit trees. This contrast can even be extended into the social constraints on costume; that is the use of the veil in the public domain in both contexts, compare the two photographs in figure 7.31. There, in the non Kurdish areas, the women usually use a black veil in order to go outside the world of the enclosed courtyard and enter the public realm - figure 7.31, (a). But here in *Sanandaj* or Kurdish society in general, the women are used to going out with vivid traditional dress or *châdur* as a response to the social customs and the hospitable and intimate environment - see figure 7.31, (b).

In *Sanandaj*, unlike the rest of Iran, a black *Châdur* is generally only worn for mourning (O'Shea 1966: 148).

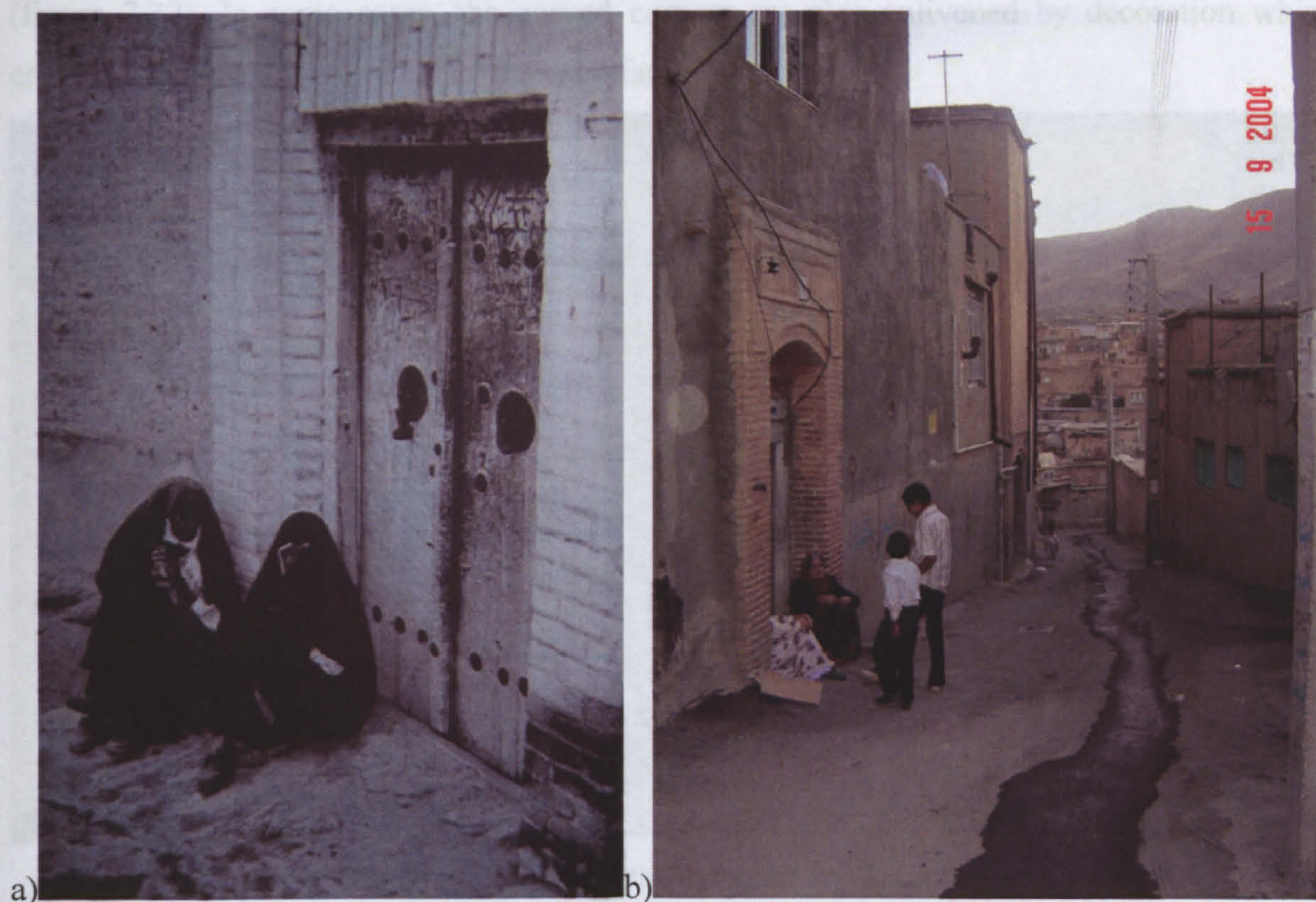


Figure 7. 31. Comparing two contexts from the perspective of the manner of women's presence in the public realm, sources: a) from Sultanzadeh 1994, b) by author August 2004

Photograph 1 was taken in the city of *Nain* located on central plateau. Photograph 2 was taken in the city of *Sanandaj* showing its principal route.

The contrast even reveals itself in the structure of the gardens; to the extent that, in the hot-arid zone, the gardens are usually defined by the hard image of brick wall, but in the city of

Sanandaj, which contains the two gardens of *Khusrau-âwâ* and *Wakil*, this definition is replaced by a softer barrier of trees. The following words are a description of the garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* by Rich (1836: 199), who visited the city in 1820.

At a distance it looked like a plantation of poplars, the garden having no other wall of defence than this tree very closely planted all around it. Generally, this defines the intimacy of the city's built form with the surrounding landscape due to the character of the terrain which is more accepting than rejecting. In relation to this we can rely on the view of Norberg-Shulz (2000) that the built environment is conditioned by its geographical situation.

Further, consistent with easing the passage of pedestrians and the riders of beasts along the circulation system, the corners of buildings located on the public thoroughfares are curved (figure 7.32). In some cases, the curved corners are also enlivened by decoration which enhances the visual quality of the thoroughfares.

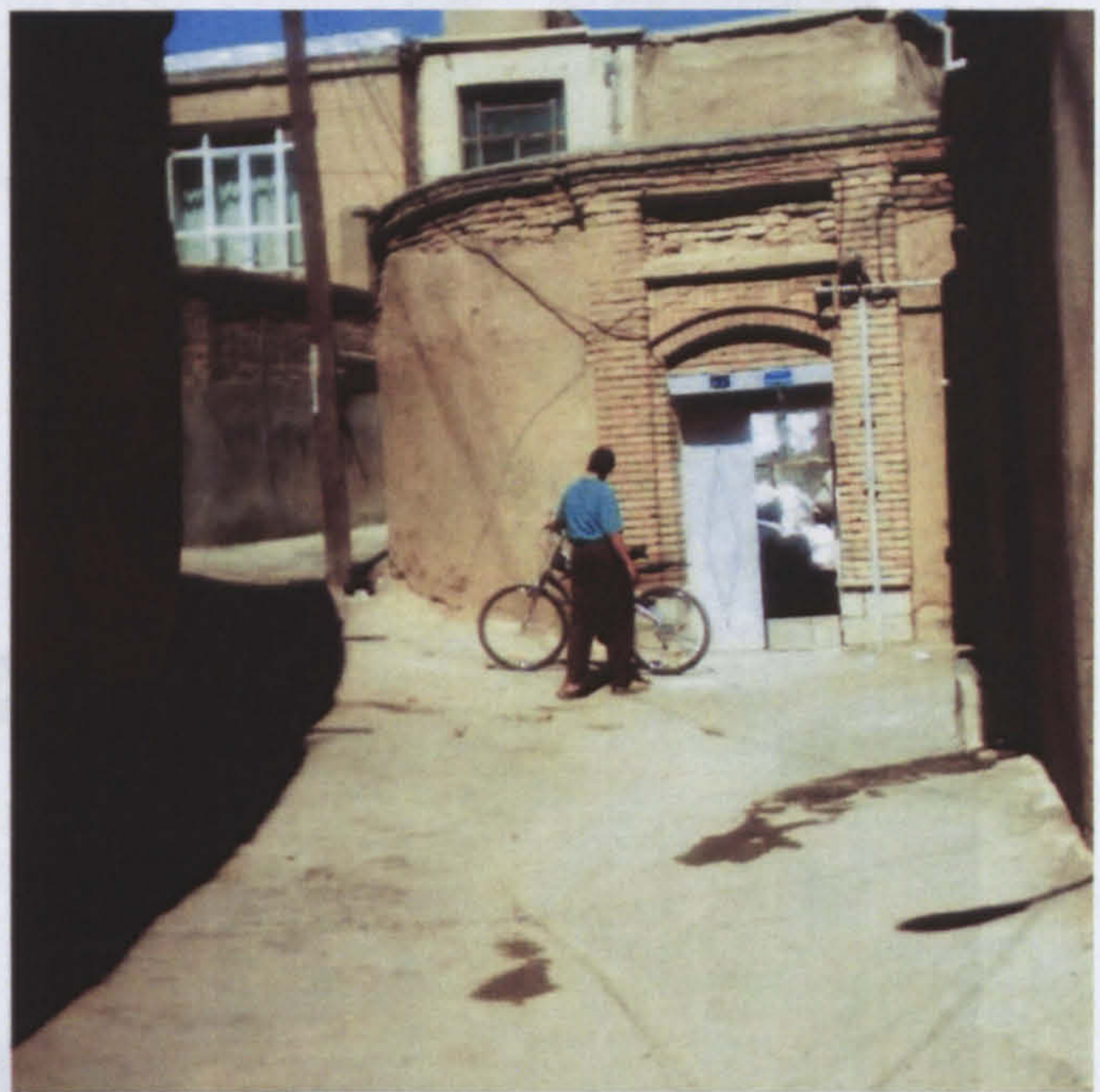
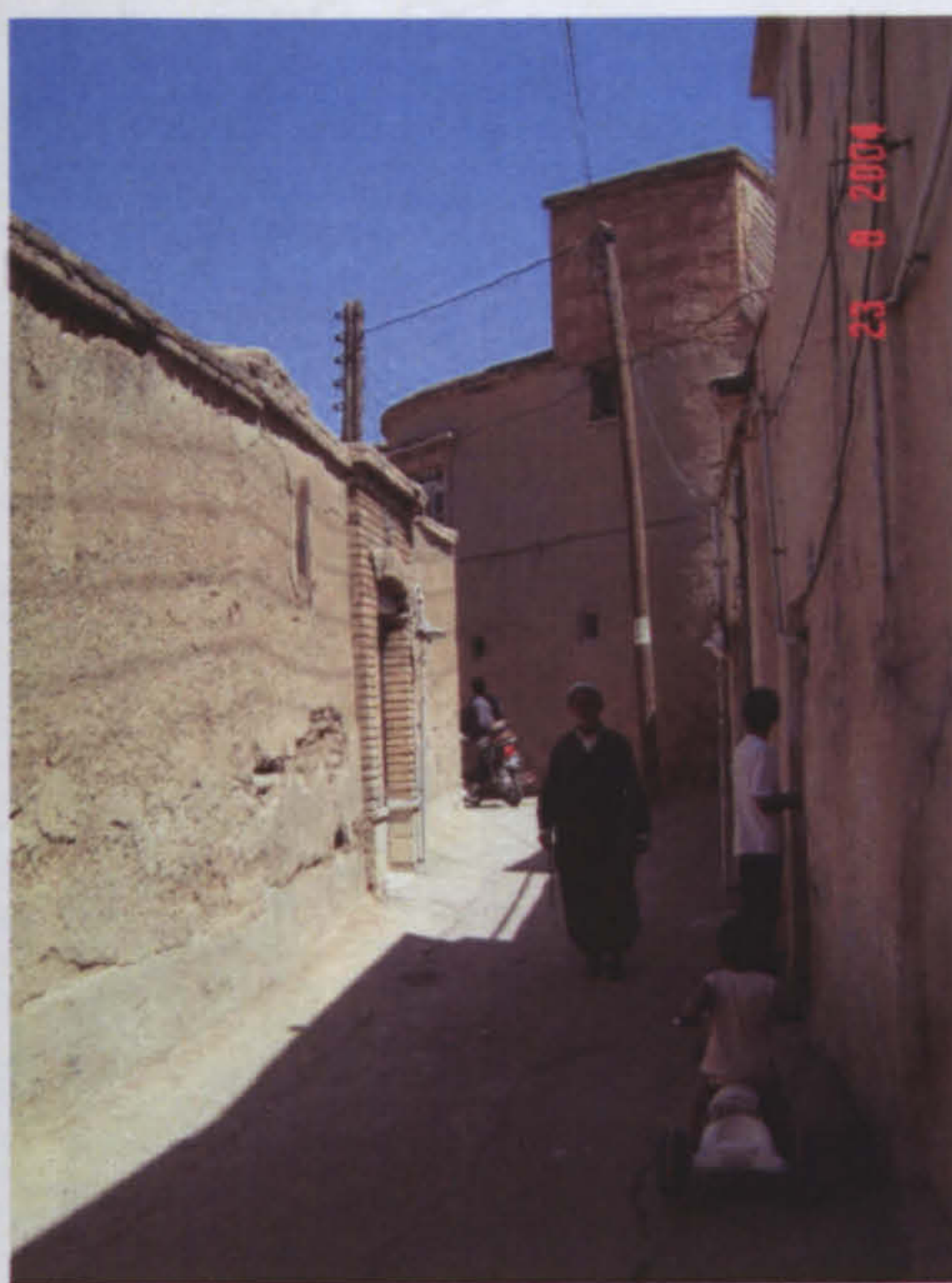


Figure 7. 32. Curved corners of the streets, source: author August 2003/4

This allowed easier movement of pedestrians and riders of beasts in the circulation system of the quarter.

Another important physical quality of the selected quarter's built form is in relation to the entry spaces. Due to the grander architecture in the city and even in most Islamic cities, the following section aims to consider the issue by examining the form of its presence in the spatial pattern of the quarter.

7.6.2.1. Entrances

Entrances are recognised as one of the key figures of built form because they are transition elements from one domain to another and communicate the role of its occupants in the world (Lawson, 2001; Moughtin, 2003). This means that they convey an important “meaningful and very human and social idea”, especially the political value (Lawson 2001: 48). Apart from the social values which are embedded in the communication role of the entry spaces and its main function as a connecting space; “from an aesthetic and perceptive viewpoint they are connecting spaces between a building and urban” spaces - the public realm (Sultanzadeh 1994: 226).



Figure 7. 33. Entrance doors location in the line of sight of passers by in the circulation system of the streets, sources: a) from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi. 2003, b) from Kurdistan Housing and Urban Planning Organisation and c & d) by Author August 2003

Map (b) accompanying the following photographs indicate an effect on the width due to the size of entrance doors along the *Kuché*.

So, consistent with the view above, especially with that of social values, the most elaborated entrance doors on the grandest scale can be found in the houses with highest status close to the centre of power, the mansion of the *Wakil* family (figures 7.24 , 7.25, b). This also can be noted in the *Khâns*' quarter where the controllers of the political fate of the City and its region were located (figure 7.24, a).

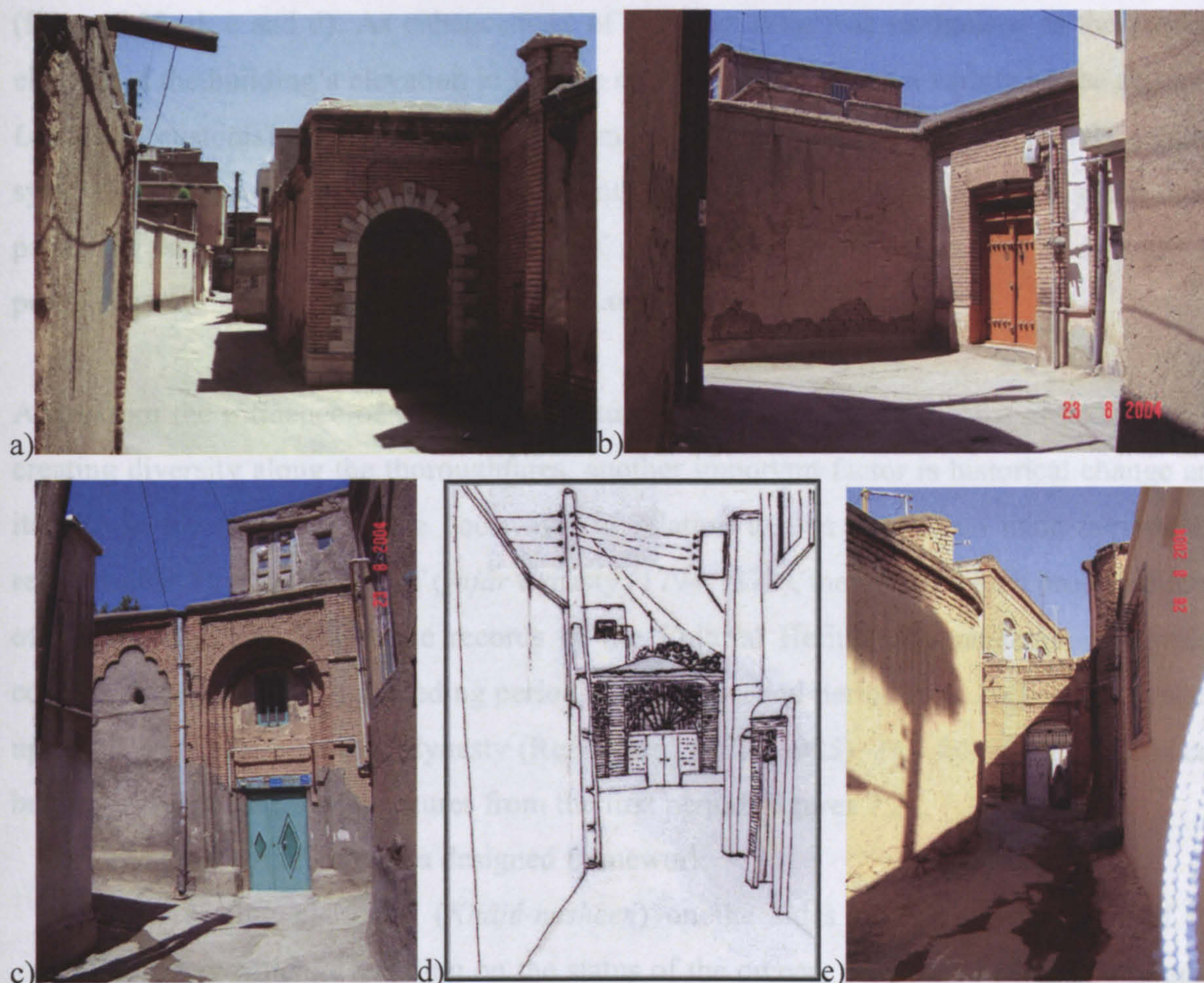


Figure 7. 34. The sceno-graphic approach in the circulation system of the quarter, sources: photographs by author August 2003/4, drawing from Yusefzamani, Mulanaei, Alizadeh and Banafshi 2003

Some evidence of the visual qualities of the circulation system of the quarter linked to the style of locating entrance doors in the line of sight of passers by around the quarter.

a) The chicane arrangement of entry spaces in some of the houses as a logical way to display the owner's status along the thoroughfare. In some, a corridor is created to separate the entry area of the house from the main part, this last point is more applicable in the houses of notables.

b) Direct presence of the entrance door along the thoroughfare (second category of entry spaces typology).

c & d) First type of the entry space and its location in the direct line of sight of the passer by.

e) Second type of entry space, neglecting the features of first in favour of portal ornamentation as a reflection of European taste. It is again in the line of sight of passers by, creating a striking image in contrast with blank house wall opposite. This evidence is in line with the earlier discussion concerning the duality of urban features, again, locating entry spaces at the end of an observer's line of sight, directing the view towards elaborated doorways as a means of reflecting the owner's status, thus, leading to the enhancement of visual qualities along the thoroughfares

Considering the visual qualities of the physical fabric of the quarter, we should say that entrance spaces were given prime importance, especially the way of placing them along the thoroughfares. They have mostly been set to give observers a clear view (figure 7.33). In some cases, the width of the passage way was narrowed because of the size of the entrance, this means that the visual perspective was controlled according to the view of passers by (figure 7.33, d, c and d). As enhancement of the main door was recognised as the primary element of the building's elevation in Islamic cities, which was given variety by the action of *Urf* (local customs) (Hakim 1994), this form of entrance space location in the circulation system of the quarter intensified the visual qualities of the thoroughfares. This mean that a passer by can experience a great variety of images of entrance doors with a diversity of portal decoration and a scale related to the status of owners (Figure 7.34).

Apart from the influence of the social structure of the quarter on the form of doorways, in creating diversity along the thoroughfares, another important factor is historical change and its role in the typology of the doorways. In relation to this point, two main periods are recognisable; first the period of *Qajâr* dynasty (1794-1873), the period which produced most of the registered houses in the records of the Cultural Heritage Organisation and which continued the structure of preceding periods: and the second period from end of this dynasty up to the start of the *Pahlavi* dynasty (Reza-khan) (1873-1925). The following features can be recognised in gateway structures from the first period (figures 7.24, 7.35):

- Elevated structure with a designed framework
- Two seating platforms (*Khâjé-nesheen*) on the sides of the entrance part of the doorway which, depending on the status of the owner, may vary in size and number of platforms, niches and brick decorations, which provide the passer by and visitor with a place to rest in the shade, and in some - the houses of commoners - a popular place for women to gather⁵² (figure 7.15, a). For the visitor, especially in the houses of ruling class and notables, its construction is logical because it affords a place for him to rest while awaiting permission to enter the house or conduct other business (figure 7.35). Further, depending on the location of the house along the thoroughfare,

⁵² Due to the etymology of the word *Khâjé-neshén's* (the sitting place of *Khâjé* - master) its function was more applicable in the realm of male society, especially the rich and notables. But as a result of socio-economic changes leading to the transformation of the city in its both contexts, physical and functional, we can observe that, nowadays, the function of *Khâjé-neshén* has been given over to the realm of female society .

it was a popular place to spend leisure time where people could sit and talk to each other (Sultanzadeh 1994).

- Frontage space recognisable as transitional space, an uncovered semi-octagon, the size varies in a similar way to the second feature but this is mostly relevant to the houses of the ruling class and some notables.
- A semi-dome shape to the doorway or a curved top with an arched door frame



Figure 7. 35. An entry space to a ruling class house with the element of platforms (*Khâjé-nesheen*) on both sides, source: *Sâzmân-e Merâs-e Kurdistan*

Photograph was taken in the period of the *Qajâr* king *Nâser-o-Din Shah* (1848-1896). The photograph also illustrates the function of platforms as places for people to sit.

The second period was to some extent a result of the “first high-ranking contact with western culture [which] occurred when *Nâser-o-Din Shah* (1848-1896), the *Qajâr* King, went to Paris and was enraptured by it” (Katouzian, 1996: 34). That was the beginning of modern thought in Iran leading to socio-economic changes and the introduction of new ideas to the structure of traditional society. It first happened in the capital city of Tehran and was then echoed in other regions. In the built form of cities, this trend led to important changes in the overall structure of the entry spaces due to a change in the concept of space in the traditional city by introducing a new spatial element called *Khiyâbân* (western street). The presence of this element blurred the distinction between public, semi-public/semi-private and private realms because it neglected the tri-fold spaces in the circulation system of the cities, thus, the

buildings can stand immediately on the realm of the *Khiyâbân* without the transitional spaces of the traditional cities. Due to these changes, the social and cultural functions of the entry spaces were neglected and, the size was reduced and other parts eliminated in favour of the ornamentation of external parts of the buildings.

The trend above and the socio-economic changes in the structure of the country meant that the platform and the frontage spaces were no longer functional in conveying status, which had been achieved through the grandeur of entry spaces, this role was displaced onto other elements bound to the new life style which operated in the realm of the *Khiyâbân* (Habibi 1996). More importantly, the concept of *Khâjé-neshén* lost its function as a result of those change in values and life style. This trend also neglected the entry space as a distinct part of the house because it gave more importance to other parts in order to change the introverted structure of courtyard houses into extroverted ones similar to western countries. From these points, the features of this type are as follows (figure 7.34 a & e):

- Small size of entry space in comparison with the elevation of the house
- Lack of frontage space with platforms and, thus, the presence of the doorway just beside the thoroughfare with the elimination of the transition space, the space which linked the doorway to the public realm
- Using different forms of doorway structures and distorting the original form of the semi-dome

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter examined the public domain in the selected Quarter considering further the matter of social life in Kurdish culture. More importantly, the material representation of that social life and its comparison with other Islamic cities was conceptualised. In the conceptualisation, the intention was to deal with the subject moving from general points to specific ones.

The perceived socio-cultural background and the spatial features show that Kurdish culture is strongly responsive to the concept of *Genius Loci*, and the dwellings in particular have a strong relationship to the landscape. The value of landscape somewhat influenced the structure of the dwellings mostly in indigenous architecture so that they retained contact with nature in the form of terraced houses and the spatial element of *Bar-haiwân*. It was also found that the notion of social life in a Kurdish city is rather different from other Islamic

cities due to the socio-cultural and environmental circumstances that have embraced this society and engendered a distinct notion of neighbourliness among its members, and thus, different attitudes to public life in respect to women's presence. From the point of view of the physical form of the city, these attitudes together with the features of the terrain gave rise to a soft boundary between the two realms of social life the public and the private domains through two concepts of *Maindâché* and *Bar-mâl* and a type of externalisation in the architecture of the settlement with the prominent feature of the *Bar-haiwân*.

Regarding the correlation between power relations and City form, the administrative system of the City revealed that there was a self-reliant structure across the quarters which sustained the society. Decision-making concerning the details of place structure in the quarters was made from bottom up, by those who experienced the place, through conventions between neighbours where disputes were regulated by the mechanism of the *Kadkhudâ-manishi*. This means that the government (*Wâli*) was more concerned with the main elements of the City and its representative in the quarters (*Kadkhudâ*) was more responsible for security than other socio-spatial issues.

The circulation system of the selected Quarter revealed a relatively hierarchical order from the main focus of the city - the bazaar complex - to the principal route which supported the *Bazaarché*, then to the primary streets, *Kuché*, *Bunbast*, *Maidâché* and finally to the domain of private houses. This hierarchical order together with the form of women's presence in the public thoroughfares and the realms of *Maidâché* and *Kâni* is summarised in the following figure (7.36). The two analytical diagrams of this figure can be considered as distilling the key notions of this chapter.

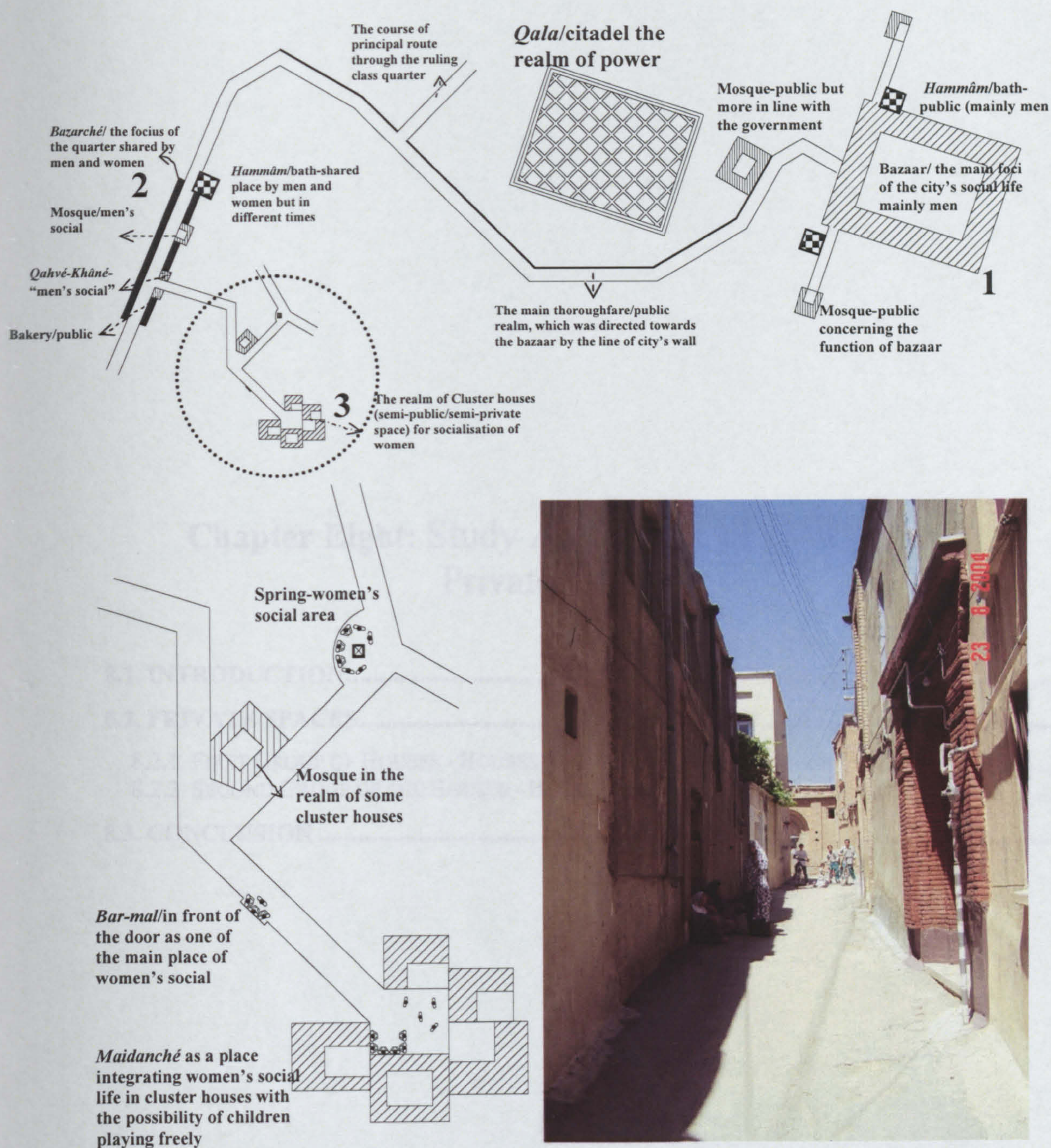


Figure 7. 36. Summary figure showing the socio-spatial dimension of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, source: author August 2004

The hierarchical movement from the bazaar to the cluster houses as the main domain of women's social life: 1) the bazaar complex as mainly in the domain of men's social life, 2) the *Bazarché* as the shared domain, 3) cluster houses which contained the elements of *Maidanché*, spring and possibility of gathering by the door-step (*Bar-mâl*) and is mainly the domain of women's social interaction.

**Chapter Eight: Study Area Qatâr-chyân Quarter
Private Domain**

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8.1. Introduction

Consistent with the hierarchical spatial order noted in the previous chapter and the general notion that the external order is meaningless without regarding the internal order because “the way the external order is developed depends on what happens in internal spaces and vice versa” (Rapoport 1977: 309), we aim to investigate the private domain to grasp the continuity of the order perceived in public spaces in relation to private spaces, especially to the courtyard part of the houses. In this journey, the means of connection to the outside world and the spatial organisation of the house into two realms of higher and lower status will be analysed because this makes clear different values and attitudes. This comparison will also reveal the distinct character of the housing settlements of the City from other Islamic cities, especially Iranian ones, because the houses of notables can be interpreted as imitating the model of other Iranian cities due to their socio-political relationships with those cities based mainly on their status while the common dwellings are more indigenous.

Note that due to the scope of the research in spatial structure we only deal with the general pattern of the house in the two realms mentioned. The details of different parts and the way they are related could be considered in other research which mainly focused on the realm of the private domain.

8.2. Private spaces

As explained in the last section of the previous chapter, the transitional connection space to the private domain in the circulation system of the quarter revealed different structures related to the types of house. In houses with an introverted structure, the houses of nobles and rich people in the main, another space was maintained immediately before the doorway to the house. This space is rather like a *Nema-hashti* (a semi-polygonal uncovered space) which acts as a transitional space between the two realms (Figure 8.1). It is also a shared space with the element of *Khâjé-neshén* or platform, as was explained earlier in respect to the function of the first typology of entry spaces. In other houses, the houses of commoners, the size of *Nema-hashti* was either minimized or omitted from its structure depending on the wealth of the owner as it was more applicable to the needs of the upper classes, mostly regarding their values and life style.

Due to the function of the *Bunbast* usually with a small *Maidânché* at the end, we can claim that, apart from the status of the owners, there was no need to maintain the transitional space

in front of the houses located in the structure of the *Bunbast* because the *Bunbast* usually acted as a semi-private/semi-public and shared space to sustain the social life of the commoners. Convincing evidence for this claim is that most of the former pattern (consisting of a transitional space in front of the house) was observed in the houses located directly along the thoroughfares, where the owner can display his status by the size of entrance space and portal decoration of the doorway (Figure 8.1) whereas houses along the *Bunbasts* lack that space.



Figure 8. 1. *Nema-hashti* (semi-polygonal) as the last spatial term (semi-private) in the circulation system of the quarter, source: author August 2003

This is the character of ruling class's houses and rich people, have when located along the thoroughfares.

Generally speaking, from the review above, which still deals with the outside part of the house, and consistent with the point from Rapoport (1977) mentioned above, the spatial structure of the houses' entrance area can be divided into two main groups; the houses of the ruling classes and notables, and the houses of commoners.

8.2.1. First Group of Houses - Houses of the Ruling Classes and Notables

In the first group, there is a hierarchical spatial order to the approach to the main courtyard of the house somewhat similar to the form of house in the central plateau (figure 8.2). This pattern reinforces the concept of privacy in that it restricts the direct relationship between the interior and the exterior of the house. This way of connecting the exterior to the interior of the house was recognised as one of the main architectural principles in Islamic belief (Moradi and Amirkabirian 2001). In this form, the houses' privacy was usually maintained

by a *Hashti* (vestibule) immediately after the entrance door, as a stopping point to give directions or as “a temporary reception room for those persons who did not need enter the house”, this is followed by an angled corridor linked to the other parts of the house, especially to the corner of the courtyard (Memarian and Brown 2003: 189). Depending on the status of the owner, and especially in the houses of the ruling class who were close to the ruler, this corridor also has a link to the stable (figure 8.2, a). In some, due to the socio-political status of the owner, this spatial relation was complicated by the creation of a broad division of the house into two quarters of men and women – thus creating two courtyards.

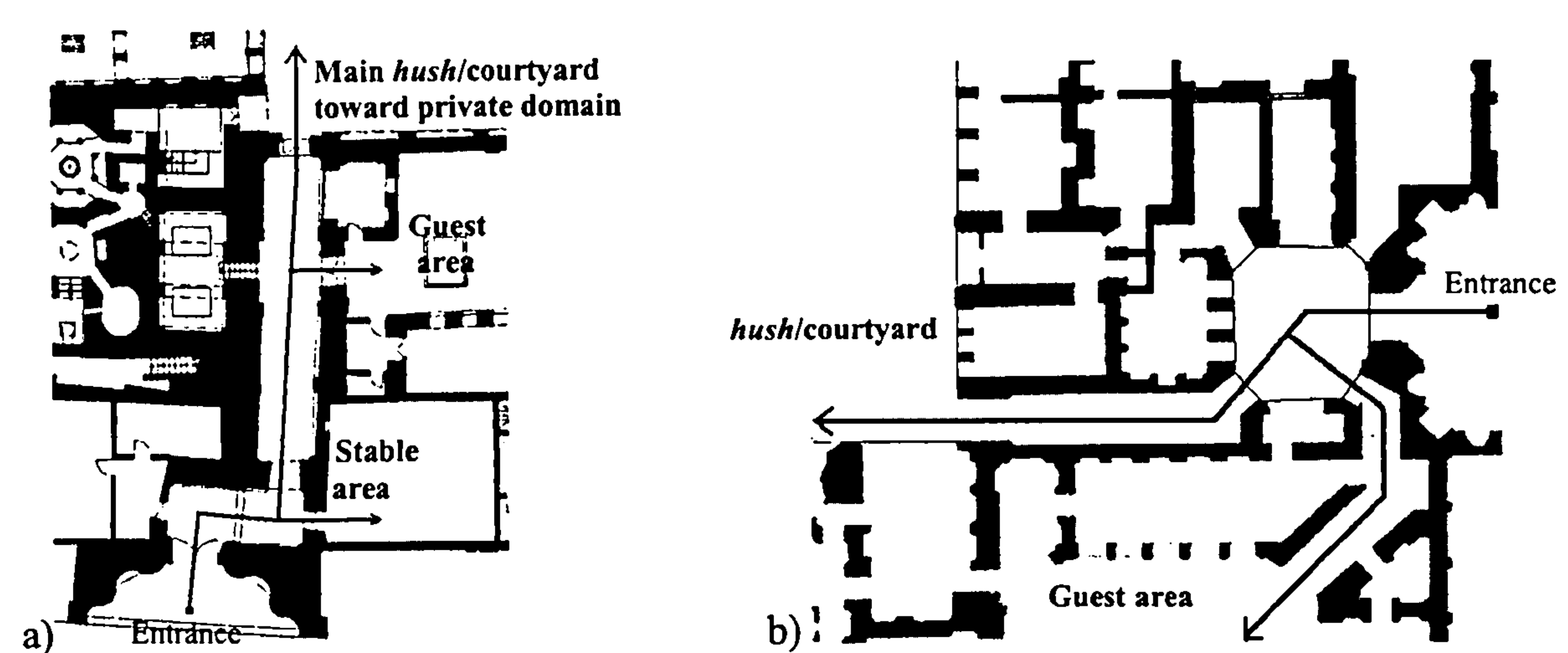


Figure 8. 2. Complicated forms of entry into the private domain in the houses of the ruling classes and rich people, source: *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

The houses of the *Âsaf* (a) and the *Wazieris'* families (b) in the quarter of the ruling class

The structure described above defines the house into two separate parts in order to create another division of spaces, termed the *Birun* (outside/public) and the *Andarun* (inside/private), in respect of sex segregation (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2001; Memarian and Brown 2003). The main courtyard was usually situated close to the entrance door and the other in one of the corners close to the main part of the house (figure 8.3). This pattern is a kind of formal and more restricted relationship between the exterior and interior which was more observable in the houses of nobles in charge of governmental affairs (figure 8.9, b). Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2001) also observed that this type of structure occurred more frequently in the houses more of wealthy Muslim people in two other countries - Iran and India.

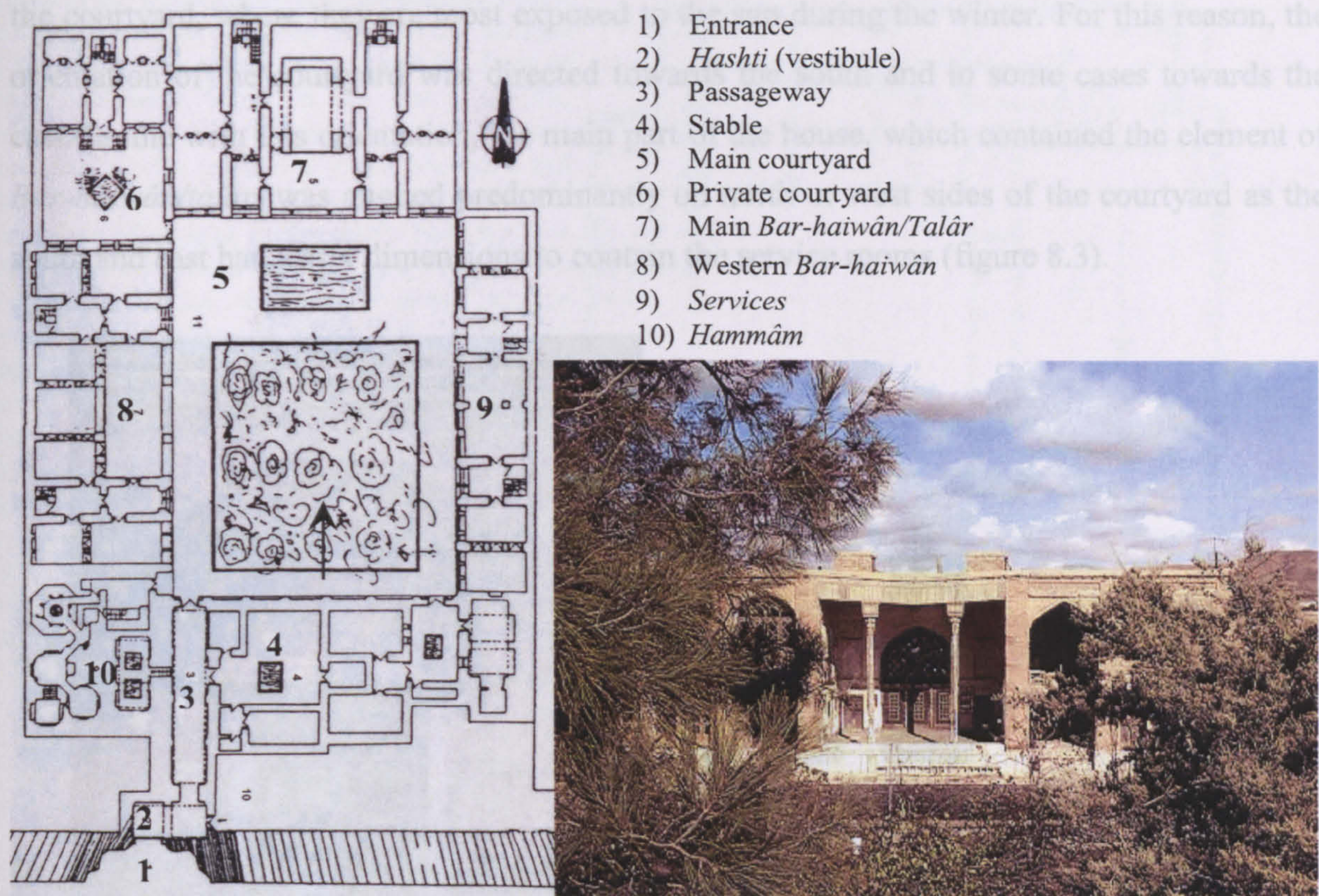


Figure 8. 3. The plan of *Asaf's* house with multiple courtyards, source: *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*

The photograph shows the main *Bar-haiwân/talâr* of the house on the north side of the courtyard.

In the above group, there are other houses within which this spatial relationship had shrunk into a simple form which just prevented a direct view into the house by the offsetting of the corridor or the creating of another barrier, a second door, at a distance behind the entrance door (figure 8.4).

The next important idea concerning the above group of houses relates to the distribution of its parts around the courtyard. In this regard, the physical conditions, both climate and topography, had a major role in the arrangement of spaces. Here the climate condition was recognised as a semi-arid one so that its summer usually has relatively moderate conditions but the winter is very cold (Far-Afza 1991). At the extreme the temperature can reach a minimum of -27.3°C ¹ degrees in February. The harsh weather of winter, with freezing days, usually lasts for 100-120 days from mid November until the end of February. Hence, the main parts of the house - the living quarters - were positioned on the north and west sides of

¹ This is an average of two years, 1988 with the minimum of -23.6°C and 1994 with the minimum of -31°C , which were reported in *Jughrâfyâ-ye Ostan-e Kurdistan* (the geography of Kurdistan province) and in the report of city development plan of *Sanandaj* in 1991.

the courtyard, where they are most exposed to the sun during the winter. For this reason, the orientation of the courtyard was directed towards the south and in some cases towards the east. In line with this orientation, the main part of the house, which contained the element of *Bar-haiwân/talâr*, was aligned predominantly on north or west sides of the courtyard as the south and east had lesser dimensions to contain the service rooms (figure 8.3).

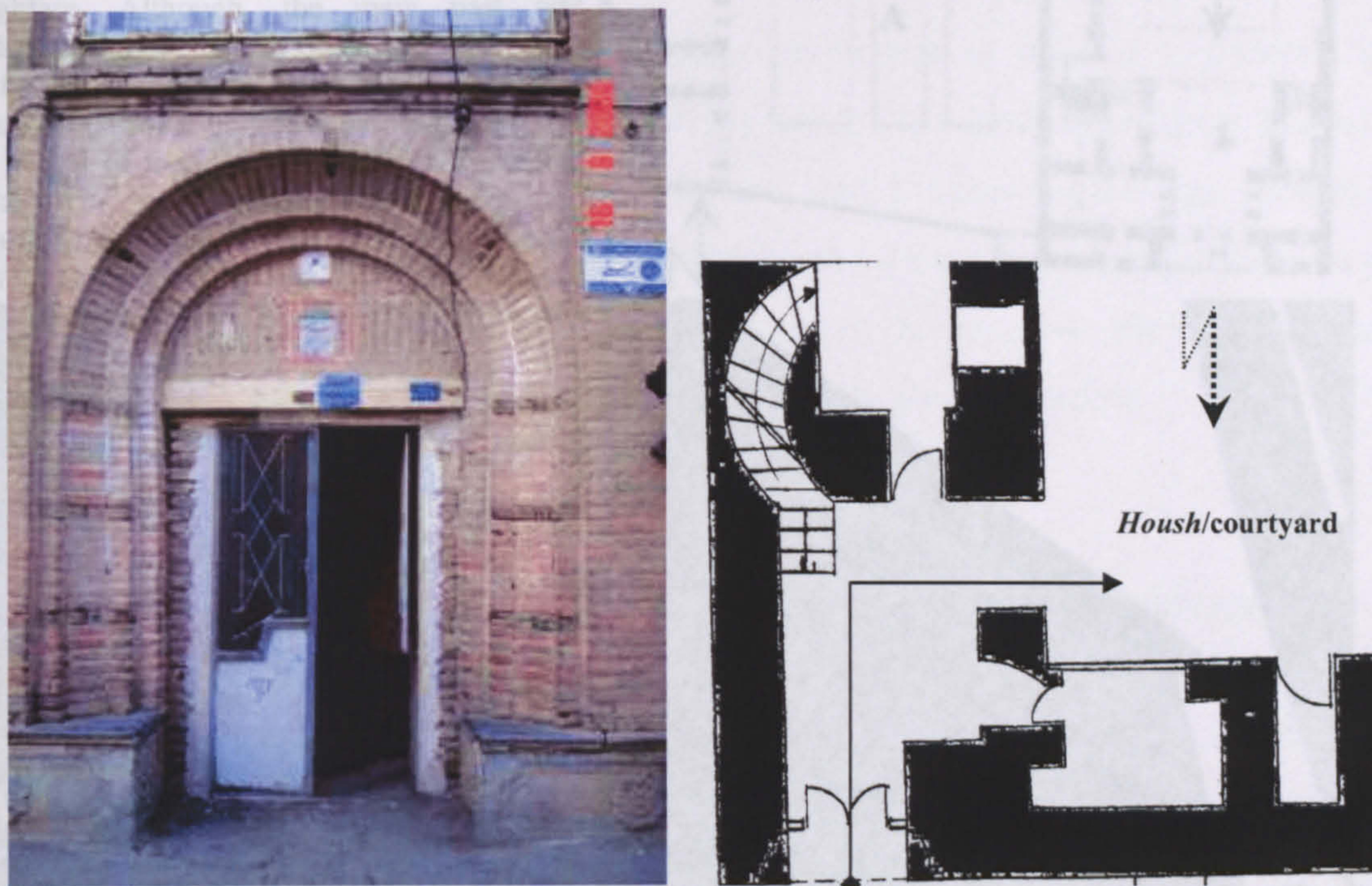


Figure 8. 4. The offsetting of the corridor leading to the courtyard

Sources: plan from *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*, photograph by author August 2004

Although the above notions characterise the orientation of the houses in response to the climate and climatic gradients, there are some cases where the main part of the house was moved to the south side because of the topography, in order have a view of the scenery, as it maintained an opening with a view toward the *Âwear* Mountains, and the access to the thoroughfares (figure 8.5). To some extent, as explained earlier, this is in line with the view of Bonine (1979) that the basic morphology of Iranian settlements is an outcome of topographical features.

In these two photographs and map, the means of access to the thoroughfare and maintaining a view of the scenery had important roles in the location of the main parts of the houses and the form of spaces. To some extent, in the first house (A, *Salar Saeed's* house) the main part was positioned on the north side of the courtyard and its south side was kept low to retain the view of the *Âwear* Mountains to the south. But, this was changed in the second house (B, *Sheikhul-Islam's* house) as it has a direct relation to the thoroughfare. Although, the main part was aligned with the south side of the courtyard, the view of scenery was maintained by an elaborated *Bar-haiwân* (second photo) looking toward the distant views of the *Âwear* Mountains linked to the sash-windowed room overlooking the courtyard (1, *Otâghi Orsi*). The photographs show the main part of *Sheikhul-Islam's* house located on north side of the plot looking towards the south.

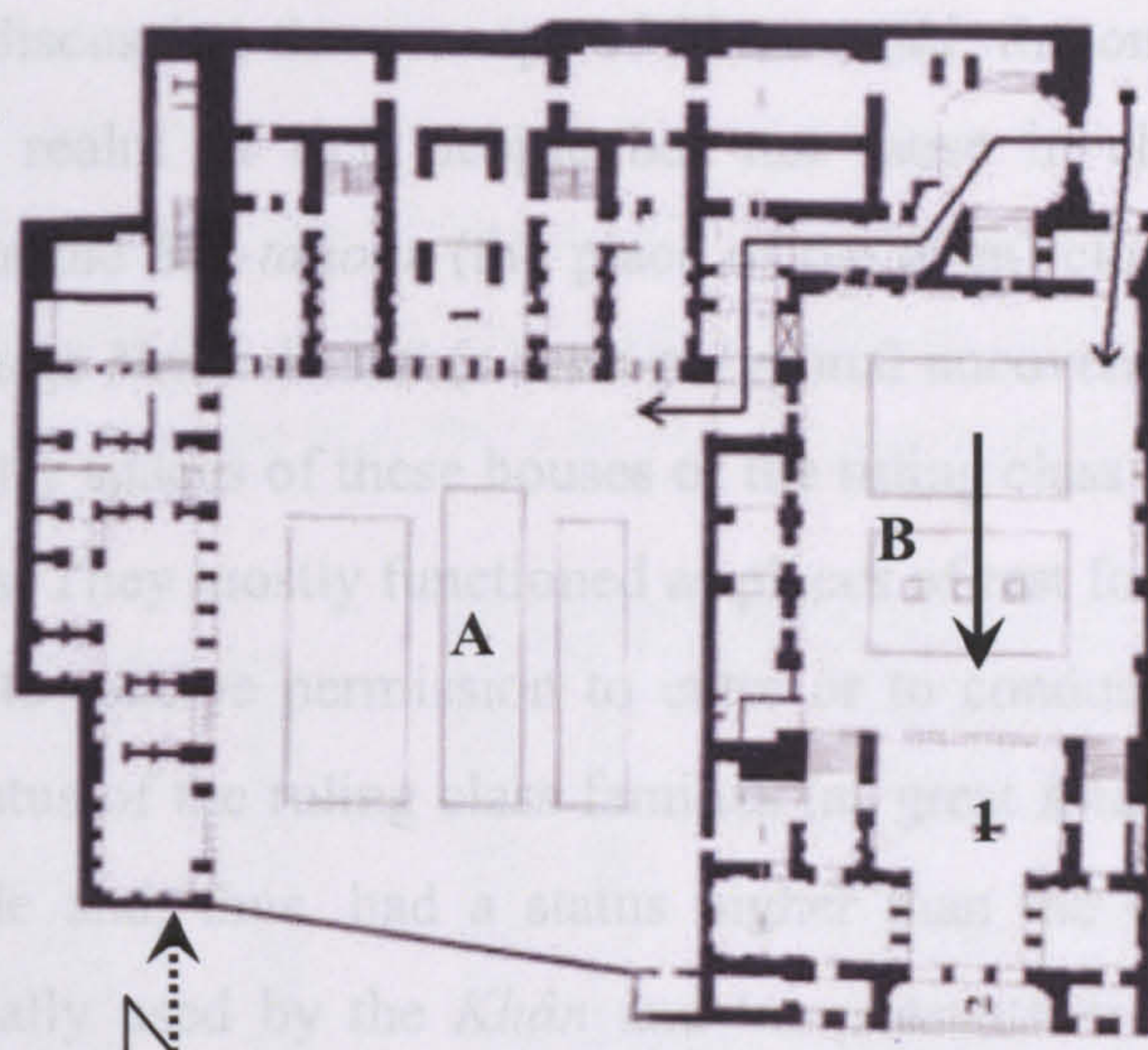
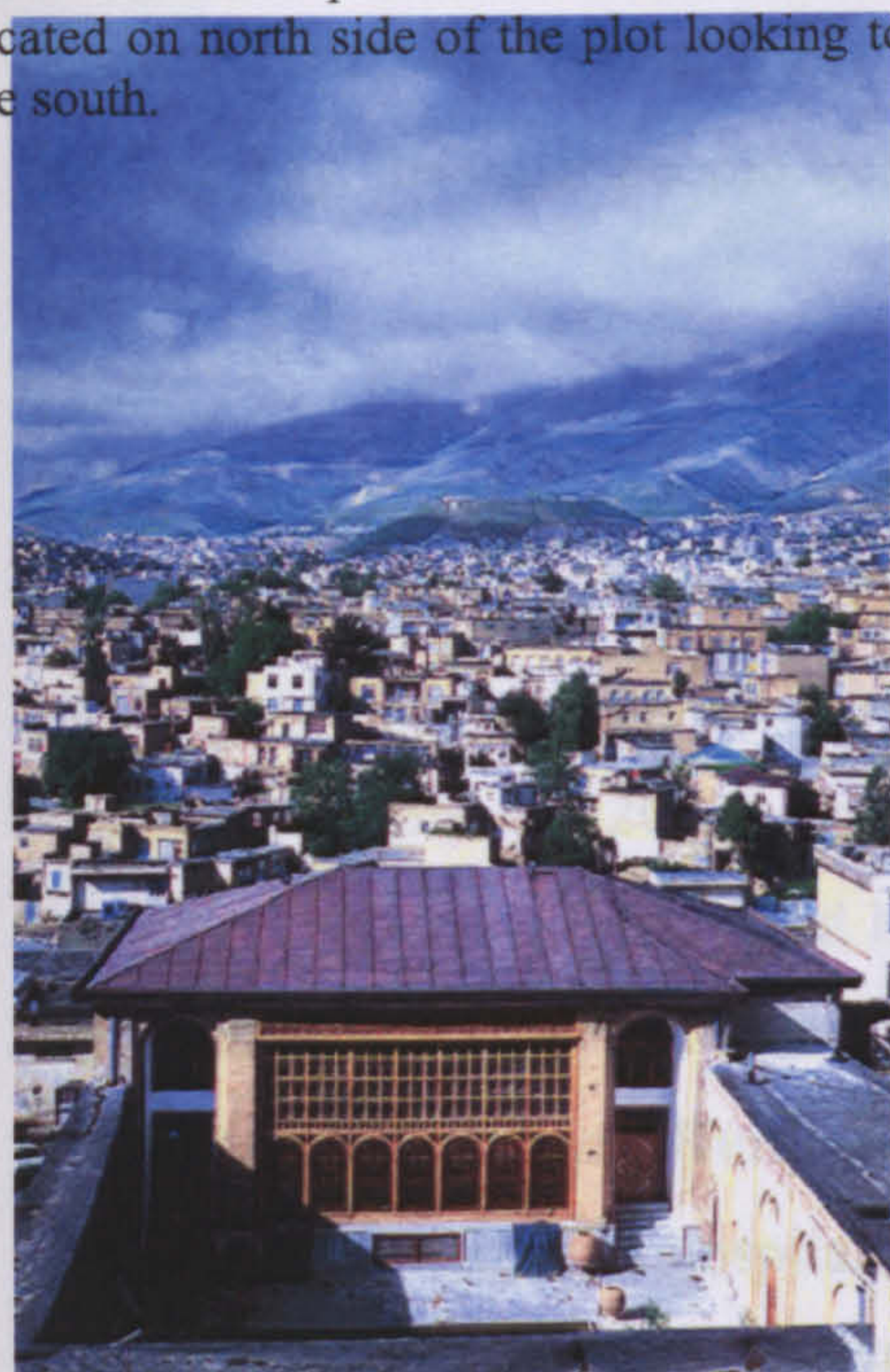


Figure 8. 5. Different pattern of spatial organisation in the houses of ruling class

Sources: plan and left photo from *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*, right photo by author autumn 2004

Overall, this group can be recognised as an expression of formal architecture within which the spatial distribution of the spaces is consistent with the concept of privacy and the status of the owner. The courtyard structure, with the pattern of four sided exclusion from the outside world, was reinforced, thus limiting the level of fluidity between two realms (figure 8.9, a). In this kind of architecture, it is difficult to observe the socio-cultural relationships between neighbours within the house and even in the spaces linked to the world of the *Kuché* (*Bar-mâl*). For here the relationships are more formal and depend on the status of the occupier. The manner of space organisation does not lend itself to easing relationships

between neighbours. As explained in discussing the concept of *Zheer-mâlâ*, the only place for women to gather, mainly in the realm of rich people but not those in charge of governmental affairs (ruling class), was the *Sar-tanour* (the place of the oven) close to the entrance door. More importantly, the large *Nema-hashti* (a semi-polygonal uncovered space) and the platforms located within the entry spaces of these houses of the ruling class were not pleasant for socialising with neighbours. They mostly functioned as places of rest for visitors because they had to wait for a while to receive permission to enter or to conduct affairs. Apart from this function, due to the status of the ruling class families (as great *Khâns*), who possessed properties in the countryside and, thus, had a status higher than the others as peasants, these entry spaces were usually used by the *Khân* and his peasants or servants (mainly from *Jawr-âwâ* quarter). While he sat on one of the benches - the main one close to the doorway, the other people were in attendance ready to obey his orders.

8.2.2. Second Group of the Houses - Houses of Commoners

In the second group of the houses, as explained earlier, the hierarchical spatial movement was reduced to its simplest form in order to ease communication among neighbours. As Memarian & Brown (2003) indicate, this is in relation to informal relationships and more importantly to the intimacy and hospitality required by Iranian culture to visitors, especially among the commoners. In line with previous discussions concerning the strong sense of neighbourliness among Kurdish people and the inhabitants of the selected quarter, this attitude to intimacy and hospitality can be recognised as a notable point of Kurdish culture. For example, as Barth (1953: 109) indicates, “hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige”. This is what impressed Rich (1836: 70) in his first contact with the Kurds in 1820. For him, ‘the manners and customs of the Kurds [are] unlooked-for honour, and [are] great proof of his friendly and hospitable disposition’.

Relevant to the point above, in the observation of the existing built form of the selected quarter and in discussion with the interviewees, it was found that entrance doors were usually left open during the day for the sake of offering a welcome to any guests² and of easy relationships among the neighbours (figure 8.7).

² The Kurdish people are usually well-known for their hospitality among the other Iranian people. This together with the location of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, separated, as it was, from the main part of the city by the *Dara-*

“There was a special trust and serenity among us. For this reason, our interaction was easy. Everyday, it was akin to a duty to know what is going on for our neighbours. I remember the period when my father was in trade with the city of *Hammadân*. It usually took a long time, nearly one month, for him to return. For that period, one of our neighbours, called *Housein*, came to visit us everyday in the early morning in order to be sure about everything and what I needed for that day” (*Khalil Shahla*³).

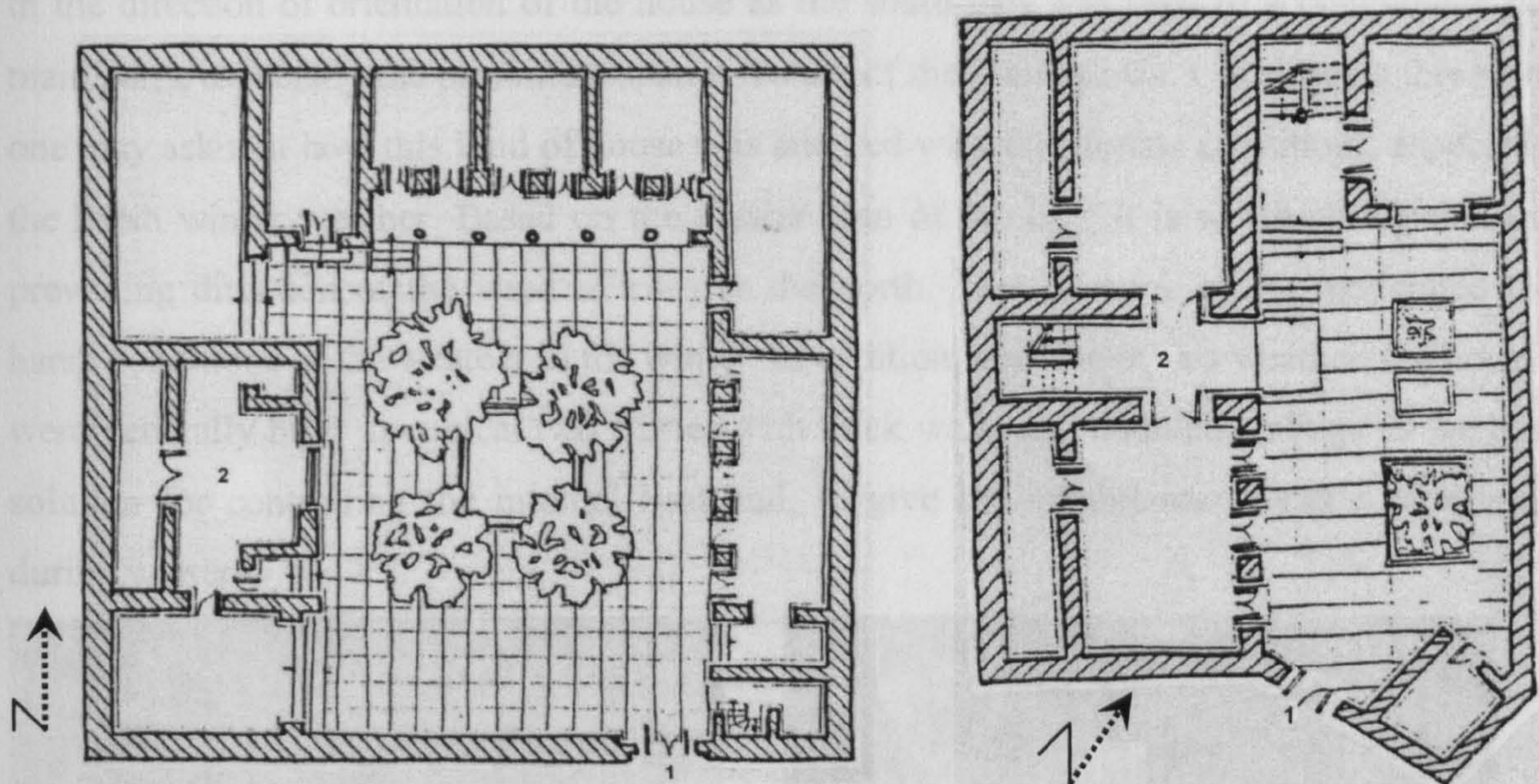


Figure 8. 6. The second type of house belongs to commoners, Source Saravand 1992

The plans indicate the simple pattern of organisation and their relationships with the public realm. Both plans were adopted based on climatic conditions of the region so that the main parts are on the west and north sides of the plots. 1) Entrance door 2) Main parts of the house

In spatial terms, the distribution of the spaces in the second group is not in the rigid and formal structure of the first type so that the accommodation in the house comprises only two or three sides of the courtyard and in many cases the courtyard directly opens onto the thoroughfares or to the *Maidanché* at the end of the *Bunbast* (figure 8.6 and 8.9, a). This type of change in spatial organisation can be related to different factors; to the size of the plots, to the status of the owner as compared with the first form of organisation which tended to have wider home ranges and greater use of social facilities, to the location of the house, and to the sense of neighbourliness among the neighbours mentioned above.

bayân River, gave rise to the strong solidarity among its inhabitants, to such an extent that the majority of people still conceive of their past as based on the way of life in this quarter.

³ Interviewed 14.09.2004, he is around 80 years old and one of the merchants, who previously lived in the quarter of the Bazaar with his family. As he explained, his family is originally from the Iraqi part of Kurdistan and migrated to the city of *Sanandaj* during the *Qajâr* dynasty.

The location of the main parts of the house depended on the location of the house in relation to the thoroughfares and the slope of the site. In the relatively level part of the quarter, the north and west sides of the courtyard contained the main part of the house. Although, this pattern can be recognised as logical in responding to the climate, it changes as one approaches the sloping part facing the north. In this part, the factor of slope had a major role in the direction of orientation of the house as the south part was used to accommodate the main parts, especially the prominent spatial feature of the *Bar-haiwân*. Considering this point, one may ask that how this kind of house was adopted with the climate conditions, especially the harsh winter weather. Based on the master plan of the city, it is worth noting that the prevailing direction of the wind is towards the north. This to some extent moderated the harsh conditions of the weather in the winter. In addition, because of this weather, the houses were generally built in cubical two stories with thick walls and doubled ceilings as the best solution for controlling the internal heat and, to give the inhabitants bearable conditions during winter.

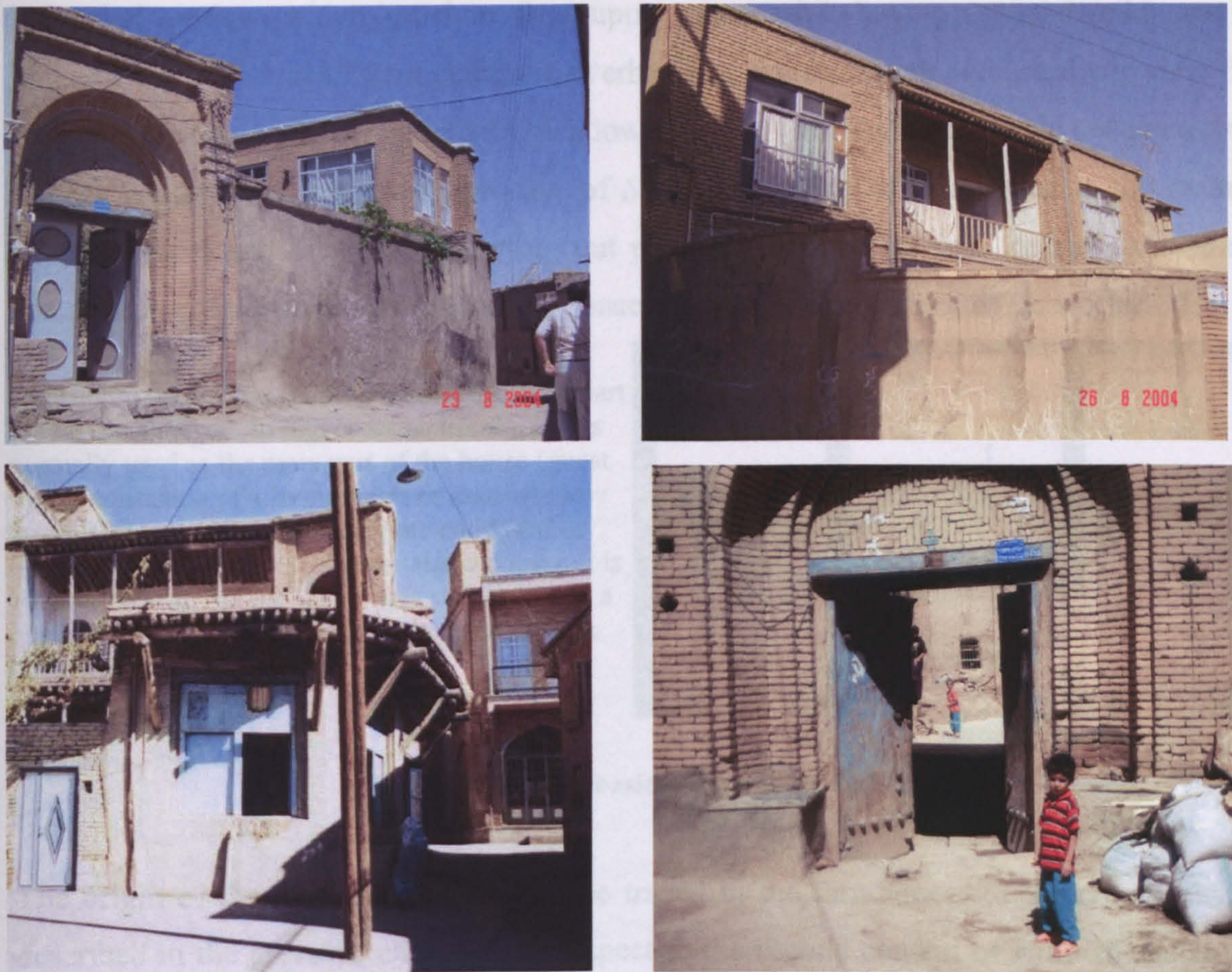


Figure 8. 7. Intimacy of the second group of houses with the realm of public spaces, source: author August 2003/4

This implies a great deal of social cohesion among neighbours.

In contrast to the first group and what Memarian and Brown (2003) indicate in relation to the form of houses in *Yazd* and *Shiraz*, they are more intimate to the public world, especially to close neighbours as they had two-stories with the possibility of a direct, outward looking contact with the world of the *kuché* (public) (Figure 8.7).

By comparing the plans of those two types, we derive the basic plan of the houses which usually comprise a tripartite structure, called *Se-bakhshi* by the people. The basic spatial structure of this plan comprises a *Bar-haiwân* in front of the main living room flanked by two rooms (figure 8.8). The *Bar-haiwân* usually gives access to other living spaces. This three-plan house can also be found elsewhere in Iran. It is more similar to the plan that Warren and Fethi (1982: 30) derived from the study of traditional houses in *Baghdad*. The point of difference is in relation to how the plans are related to the realm of the public domain in respect of the concept of privacy. The case of *Baghdad* was characterised by balconied windows which jutted out from upper rooms while having a special veil meant as a barrier called “*Shanashil*”/ an elaborate overhanging screen, which prevented any view from outside to inside while the sun could be allowed in and the inhabitants could see the outside. On the contrary, as explained, the case of *Sanandaj* is free of this screen in the realm of public domain and instead of a jutting out pattern it was set back to define a transitional space, as a softer barrier and welcoming space, to negotiate with the outside world.

Depending on the status of the owner, the main part (1) can be changed. In higher status homes, it was normally used as the main part of the house (guest room) consisting of a living room or sash-window room (*Otâghi orsi*) overlooking the courtyard or *bar-haiwân* in front. In the lower status homes, it is either a main living room or it was squeezed into a corridor (usually with a closet at the back) to link two surrounding rooms.

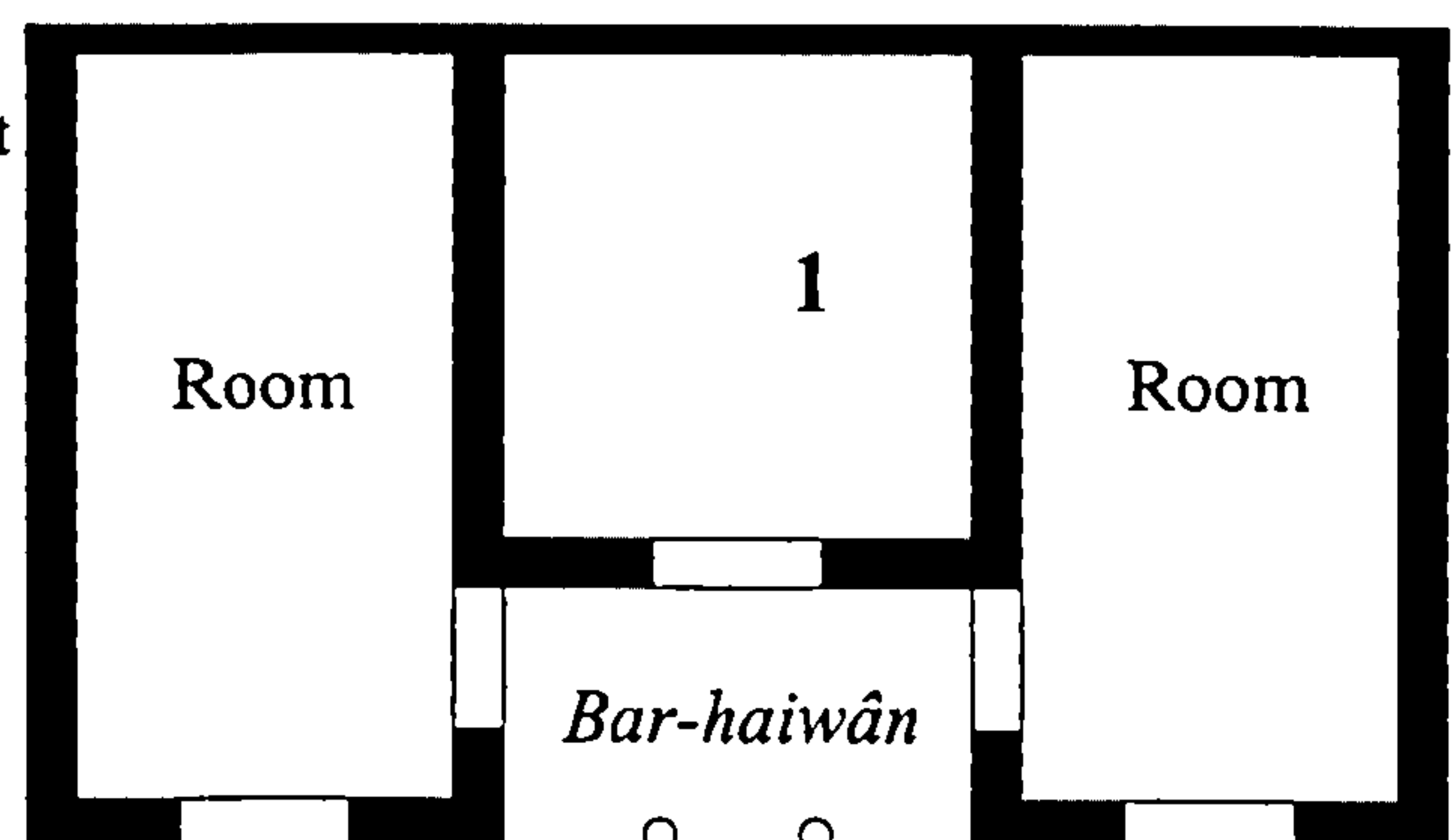


Figure 8. 8. The basic plan of house design

The origin of the basic plan above can be traced in the farmhouses of the countryside (as described in the previous chapter with respect to the second context of Kurdish social life), especially in the villages to the south and southwest of the city, where the slope gave direction and structure so that the roof of one house acts as the courtyard of other house and

the thoroughway of the settlements, thus it was appropriate for them to keep a broad view of distant scenery.

This is markedly different from the first group, for here the spatial structure of the houses is such that it eases communications between the neighbours (figure 7.15). It means that the house is in direct connection with the *Kuché* (figure 8.9, a) which invites the neighbours to sit either in front of the house (*Bar-mâl*) or in the main part of the house specified as being mainly for the guests. This kind of house aggregation and its neighbouring structure imply the previous concept of rooftop-society common in the social life of the Kurdish people, fluidity between inside and outside worlds. Due to such a socio-spatial background and the fact that the indigenous houses mostly contained a small floor area, the *Housh* (courtyard) was not adequate to support the social life of the neighbours, thus, the *Bar-mâl* was the replacement to entertain most of the neighbours and to maintain contact with outside world, and possibly with the distant scenery. Alongside the *Bar-mâl*, and mainly to do with women's socialising, the house was the arena for regular visits among the neighbours, especially during the winter nights in the main part of the house, the guest room, and on summer nights on the rooftop. There, while the people were entertained with tea, cigarettes and dried fruits, usually by the women, the elders reminisced, and there was a kind of story-telling and the young would listen carefully (Ayazi 1992). Sometimes too, the atmosphere would change somewhat and all men present, young and old, would play communal games called *Gourwâ-bâzee* - guess who has the ring.

8.3. Conclusion

Generally speaking, from the above review of the two groups of the houses and in comparison to the notion of *Maskan*⁴ in traditional courtyard houses of other Iranian cities; it can be argued that the spatial structure of the first group was more in line with the concept of privacy which restricts the ease of communications between inside-outside worlds (figure 8.9, b). This is explained as being due more to the socio-economical relationships of the notables and rich people with those cities which led to their borrowing of the concept and introducing it into the house-settlement system of the City. More importantly, the role of people moving to the City, especially those persons invited by the *Wâli*, is the most significant point. The convincing evidence for this is a statement in history which says;

⁴ *Maskan* derives from the root *Sikun* which literally means Quiet (Warren & Fethi 1982: 44)

“*Amanullâh-khan* the great (*Wâli* of *Sanandaj* in 1800-1825) had been enamoured with the architecture of *Isfahân* regarding his visits of this city. For this reason, when he met an *Isfahânian* merchant (*Abutâleb Isfahâni*) in the city of *Tehran* in 1808, he invited him to settle in the city of *Sennah* and help him to renovate the city based on the quality of architecture in the city of *Isfahân*. *Abutâleb* settled in the city the year after, and based on the request of *Wâli* he invited architects, carpenters, tilers and others to the city of *Sanandaj*”. (this was quoted in a report in relation to the Mansion of *Asaf-Vizieri*, *Sâzmân-e Merâs-e Farhangi Kurdistan*)⁵.

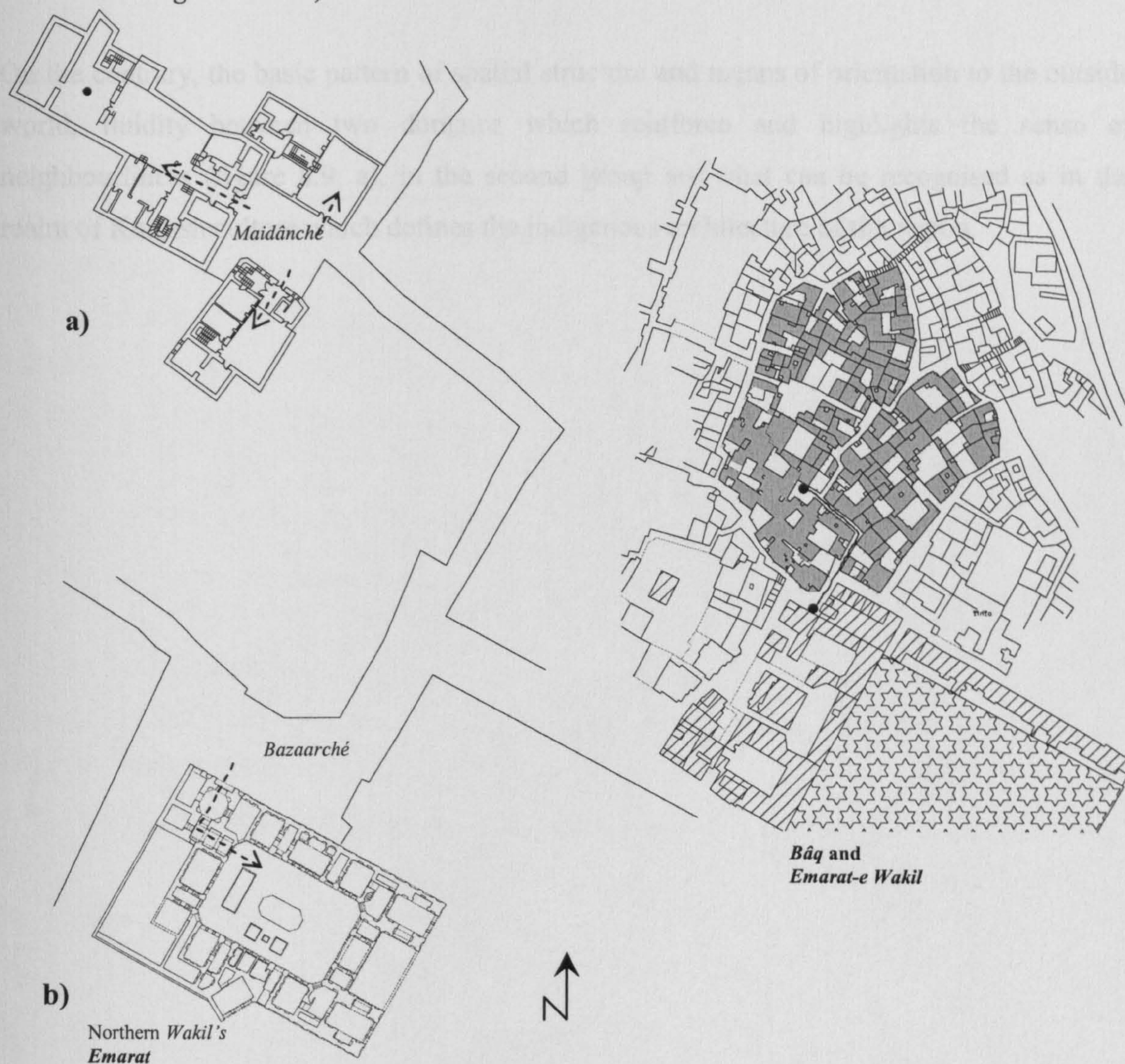


Figure 8. 9. Summary map concerning the points of differences in two groups of the houses and their presence in the realm of *Kuché*, sources: Kurdistan housing and urban planning organisation, *Sâzmân-e Mirâs-e Kurdistan*, Tadbier-shahr's consulting engineers

⁵ Although the date and author of this report is unknown, the point mentioned, especially construction of the city's main edifices by *Isfahânian*'s architects, was also mentioned in the historical books *Mardukh* (2000), *Kurdistani* (2002) and *Rich* (1836).

In line with the above quotation, we can look at the entrance doors furnished with two splendid knockers: one a kind of metal ring for women, the other a large metal hammer for men. This was discussed with *Marufî*⁶ during our field visit, especially when we were observing the old city. He emphasised that it is not from Kurdish culture, “it is more an imitation of other Iranian cities because this high level of sex segregation was not of such importance for Kurdish people. The evidence can be traced through the settlements in rural areas of the region which lack these separated knockers”.

On the contrary, the basic pattern of spatial structure and means of orientation to the outside world, fluidity between two domains which reinforce and highlights the sense of neighbourliness (figure 8.9, a), in the second group are what can be recognised as in the realm of Kurdish culture which defines the indigenous architecture of the region.

⁶ Interviewed 29.08.2003

Chapter Nine: Conclusion and Recommendations

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9.1. Introduction

The main concern of this thesis was to investigate the shaping design principles of the traditional Islamic-Iranian-Kurdish city of *Sanandaj* situated within the majestic *Zâgros* mountain range in the west of Iran, the birth place of Kurdish culture. Within this specific context, the study has tried to uncover the process of city formation to explain how urban form in a particular context responded to the environmental and socio-political determinants of time. At the same time, it has tried to understand the nature of Kurdish settlements by paying attention to the points of similarity and difference with the Islamic and Iranian contexts. More importantly, within the context of *Sanandaj*, one of the quarters (*Qatâr-chyân*) was examined using a socio-spatial approach to make clear the details of place structure in the realms of public, semi-public and private domains related to Kurdish habits and traditions.

With the above points in mind and the fact that each chapter contained a conclusion section, this chapter is organised to draw attention to the research's findings concerning the main aim and questions of the research. At the inception of the research, the main aim, *to investigate and identify the shaping design principles of the actual physical configuration and arrangements which have formed the traditional core of Sanandaj*, was set forth to address the following research questions that form a basis for the inquiry and detailed investigation.

1. How was the historic core of *Sanandaj* formed?
2. What shaping design principles were applied in its formation and gave rise to its character?
3. What kind of ideas, norms and beliefs were engaged in applying these principles? Or, from which ideas, norms and beliefs did these principles emanate?
4. What can we learn from this study about the future prospects of the city and other similar situations?

9.2. Contributing New Knowledge, Significance or Value through the Research

Given the above aim and questions, this research was carried out with a view to contributing further insights into both theoretical and practical knowledge of the traditional built form, particularly with regard to the issue of the women's negotiation with the public domain in

the Islamic-Iranian-Kurdish contexts. Based on the conclusions drawn from this research the main contributions of the study lie in the following areas:

1. **General point:** It opened up a new scope in the realm of traditional built environment related to Kurdish cities. More importantly, its methodological approach, which characterised the nature of the Kurd's understanding of his/her environment within the wider context of Persian cities, can be a base for similar studies in other parts of Kurdistan within Iraq, Turkey and Syria.
2. **Specific points:** A better understanding of the local historical conditions, of the way in which various socio-spatial factors interacted and operated in the formation and development of *Sanandaj*, and how this gave birth to a specific urban form and character distinguishable from other Iranian cities. Also, it generated improved knowledge of Kurdish settlements within the *Zâgros* mountain range in the western part of Iran.

Based on the outline of contributions given above, the following parts deal with the findings and how they were achieved in relation to the main aim and questions of the research restated above.

9.3. Historical Analysis

The earlier stage of this research was carried out to find an answer to the first question of the research concerning the city of *Sanandaj* and the case study to be used in the research was defined. The historical analysis was of urban form dealing particularly with the process of city formation over the course of time considering "the social premises of designers" (Kostof 1991: 11). It was an analysis of socio-political issues alongside morphological studies to explain elements of urban form and their historical evolution. This study of the City's historical background constituted the first step of the inductive research. It outlined the long process of urban evolution, and highlighted the changes in the built fabric which have produced a certain richness and uniqueness of historic meaning and importance associated with the built form of *Sanandaj*.

Within the initial part of the research, attention was drawn to the period before the City's formation in order to uncover the socio-political premises and leading type underlying its foundation and structure. As a result, the emergence of the City was recognised in relation to the conflicts between the two rival empires on either side of the *Zagros* Mountains so that

Sanandaj (as the capital of the *Ardalan* family) was founded in 1639 as a politico-administrative centre supporting *Safavid* policy, and, the years after the city of *Sulaymânia* (as the capital of the *Bâbân* family) was also founded but supporting Ottoman policy. Also, the concept of mound-cities was conceptualised not only as a background to the City's emergence, but also as the leading structure borrowed from a pre-Islamic concept evident at the time of the Median dynasty (728-550 BCE), and, even before the time of this dynasty appearing as a typical style of urban planning among the civilised people living in the *Zâgros-Taurus* mountains ranges (Izady 1992). The recalling of this concept, as a leading structure of Kurdish cities, led to the emergence of a unique structure in the foundation of the City that no other Iranian cities possessed in the periods of the *Safavid* (1502-1736) and *Qajâr* (1794-1925) dynasties.

9.4. Shaping Design Principles of the Built Form

9.4.1. Geo-physical Setting

The historical analysis of urban form provided a rich background for the research's continuing concern, the main aim and the other questions, the details of place structure in both man-made and natural setting were investigated to make clear the socio-spatial determinants of the built form in general. Within this section, first the geo-physical setting of the city was analysed through analytical drawings to identify the structuring elements, those features of the natural setting which have influenced the City's orientation and its built form in general. Two levels of edgedness were characterised as the macro and micro geo-physical settings which define the City's boundaries analogous to the multiple walls of the city. This part reveals that nature, as "the primary components of the given" (Norberg-Schulz 1980: 10), constrained the City's main orientation towards the east where the sacred hill of *Toos-nawzar* is located and made this orientation stronger than usual so much so that most of the main urban elements (bazaar, *Jumaa* mosque, *Qalâ/citadel*, *Bâq* and *Emârat-e Khusrau-âwâ*, and *Wakils' Emârat*) are oriented towards the east in general and this hill in particular (figure 9.1).

9.4.2. Morphological Components

Following the geo-physical setting, the morphological components of the city were analysed, as man-made structures, to obtain a better understanding of the interaction between those environments and the social-cultural issues underlying each element. Using the notion of Kostof (1992) the connection between the constituent elements of urban form and that of the

natural setting was examined, first the man-made structure of the City's walls was analysed by using the concept of edgedness. As explained earlier, the City has two walled parts: the first walls surrounded the castellated palace (*Qalâ*) situated on a hill which dominated the urban fabric of the traditional core so that its location offered magnificent views as far as the *Toos-nawzar* hill in the east and even to the first level of geo-physical setting of the city; the second enclosed the ruling class' houses - the inner city - at the foot of the *Qalâ*. This walled pattern, which only included the central part of the City so that the City as a whole lacked man-made walls, was recognised as a unique pattern in Iranian cities stemming mainly from the concept of mound-cities¹ because this form of organisation of settlements dominated the region of Kurdistan for nearly five centuries, and especially the period before the foundation of the City from 1168-1639. More importantly, because of this form of organisation, which provided a strong buffer against internal and external invaders, the region of Kurdistan enjoyed an independent status on the "Perso-Turkish" frontiers (Minorsky 1943). Thus, the founders of the City, the *Ardalân* family, based the structure of the City on this concept to improve their security.

9.4.2.1. Internal Divisions

Following consideration of the city walls, next the internal division of the city was examined and three main parts were identified: the *Qalâ*/citadel, the inner-city (*Shâr-e Daruni*) and the outer-city (*Shâr-e Biruni*). Because of the destruction of the *Qalâ*, the research encountered some limitations in making clear the structure of the *Qalâ*. The information provided was based largely on the accounts of travellers, especially Rich's observations (1836). This strongly suggests the need for further archaeological studies to uncover its structure, identify the configuration of its components, and to find out the time scale of the different layers of construction.

The central part of the City was conceptualised as "a real city inside the city" because it contained the ruling class' houses with their own urban facilities and was separated by a fortified wall - the second wall - from the City of the commoners. Its connection was maintained through four fortified gates set at the cardinal points of the compass with some

¹ As was made clear in the historical background, the structure of mound-cities comprised a *Qalâ* on the highest part of the hill, with the houses of the ruling class at the foot and beyond these two parts were the settlements on the slopes of the hill. The structure of mound-cities was characterised as a leading structure borrowed from the ancient style of urban planning among the Kurdish people within the *Zâgros-Taurus* mountain ranges.

degrees of deviation. The exception is the west gate, which faced towards the *Dara-bayân* River, the other gates were set in the direction of the City quarters as symbols of the *Khâns'* authority in relation to the different professional groups located in each quarter. Considering such a structure, especially the seclusion of inner-*shâr* from the commoners, one may propose the notion of class division in a way similar to the structure of *Sassanid* cities (224-642 CE). In response to this point, we must say that "belonging to the quarter and living in it could and must be associated with a certain social status and even with a political orientation" (Vasilyeva 2000: 8). This means that the stratification of notables (*Khâns*) and common people was not based on wealth alone because a number of persons among the commoners could be very rich.

The outer-*shâr* was conceived as falling into three main quarters and one new quarter in the traditional core of the City. Each quarter was organised on the basis of the specific social status and professional background of the inhabitants, and they circled the nucleus of power in the form of satellite settlements. The professional backgrounds of those quarters were characterised as the quarter of servants (*Jawr-âwâ*, the quarter of workers) close to the ruling class district (inner-*shâr*) and to its north, the quarter of muleteers (*Qatâr-chyân*) connected with the bazaar in transporting the goods and building materials from the *Âwear* Mountains located to south - the course of the *Dara-bayân* River separated it from other quarters, the quarter of merchants and craftsman (*Âqâ-zamân*) dominated mostly by religious minorities (Jews and Christians) where the bazaar was located to east. This pattern of organisation of the quarters distinguished the city from other Islamic and Iranian cities where the division of quarters is mainly based on family ties, clientage, common village origin, and ethnic or religious sect identity.

This organisation of the City's internal divisions, which to some extent reflected the inhabitants' social status, was perceived as being consistent with some formal planning in the foundation of the City because, as Akbar (cited in Morris 1994: 381) indicates, "the term planned applies only in respect of a political decision to establish a permanent settlement on a given site". Considering this point, the ruling houses – the controllers of the political fate of the region – occupied the centre of the City - the inner-*shâr*. The quarter of the bazaar, which carried the economic fate of the region, was organised at the bottom of the *Qalâ's* hill to its east but within its view for more security. The muleteers were accommodated on the other side of the river to the south and detached from the rest of the City due to their function this

was relevant for sanitary reasons and the presence of an opposition group with a political orientation against the ruling class. Finally the servants due to their low status were pushed onto the hilly parts of the City's setting in the north, where they linked directly to the principal route leading to the inner-*shâr*.

Due to such a diversity of social background among the quarters, the urban form of each quarter was also regarded as communicating its own character reflecting the social status of the inhabitants. For example, the street pattern in the quarter of the bazaar was shaped in a maze pattern analogous to the beehive's cells which contained a small number of *Bunbast* (cul-de-sacs) this pattern was to afford more security to the merchants and minorities as it disoriented strangers and hindered invaders. However, the street pattern in the quarter of *Jawr-âwâ* was mostly oriented by topographical features of the site and was free of any notion of defence because of the low status of the inhabitants.

Apart from those four main quarters, the new quarter of *Chahâr-bâq* was added to the traditional City as a result of its economic prosperity in the period of Amanullâh-khân the Great (1799-1820) which led to a large number of people being engaged with the function of the bazaar. Unlike the other quarters and due to the previous existence of the garden structure the first *Chahâr-bâq* of the city, the new quarter was structured in a rectangular form, analogous to the western style of urban planning.

Generally, the organisation of place described above shows that both rational and organic patterns were represented in the city of *Sanandaj*.

9.4.2.2. Public Urban Elements

After the internal divisions of the city, other main elements of urban form were investigated in the section concerning public places. These comprised the *Mayâdin*/squares, the bazaar complex, the *Jumaa* mosque and the principal route.

Three *Maidâns* were identified comprising *Maidân-e Arg* in front of the *Qalâ*, *Maidân-e Alâf-Khân* formed by the rectangular form of the Bazaar, *Maidân-e Kilisa* (Church Square) in front of the church in the quarter of *Âqâ-zamân*/bazaar. The results of the analyses indicate that the *Maidân-e Arg* and its function were similar to squares in other Iranian cities, especially those cities with significant strategic importance in their region. It was placed along the principal route leading from the north gate to the south gate of the inner-*shâr*.

Maidân-e Alâf-Khân and the bazaar were characterised as a unified urban element because the form of the bazaar created such a *Maidân*. Although, the root of such a concentrated form of bazaar was traced in other Iranian cities and related with the *Mayâdin-e Imam* in *Isfahan* and the *Ganj-ali-khân* in *Kirmân*, it was recognised as a unique concentrated bazaar in the Iranian context because the lines of bazaar were just maintained around the four sides of the *Maidân* without any continued lines towards the *Maidân-e Arg*. In other Iranian cities, the concentrated bazaar is usually a part of the main bazaar so that we cannot recognise it as analogous to the main bazaar of the city of *Sanandaj*. The reason for such a design was ascribed to the hilly features of the City's geo-physical setting which rather limited its continuation and the political dimension of place-making which outweighed its economic dimension. From this point and because of the role of bazaar and *Bazaari* - those who work in the bazaar - in the social life of the city, we claim that the founders of the city preferred such a concentrated form because it was easier to control than a linear bazaar. Considering this point and unlike other Iranian cities, the bazaar was not formed along the principal route, the backbone of the city, leading from north to south. More importantly, the results of the analysis revealed no direct line and no important route from the suburbs to the site of the bazaar. Those connecting lines were mainly similar to other lines which provided access in the quarters. Apart from the topographical features of the terrain, the reason for such a structure was defined in terms of the defence of the City because, as explained earlier, the third part of the city lacked a man-made fortified wall, which, thus, required the bazaar to be surrounded by a compact form of the settlement without a direct, arterial route leading to the its site.

For the first time, the principal route of the city was identified. It was the backbone of the city in structuring the quarters (*Jawrâwâ*, *Chahâr-bâq*, *Myân-qalâ* and *Qatâr-chyân*) and various other physical and spatial urban elements. It served as an articulation of entry, and a means of leading high-ranking authorities (the *Wâli* and the King) and their escorts to the seat of power within the *Qalâ* (Ardalan 1976). As described earlier, it ran from north (the route towards other Iranian cities) to south (the slopes of the *Âwér* Mountains) crossing the *Dara-bayân* River. The *Dara-bayân* River, as the structure of natural setting, defined the longitudinal axis and the principal route, as the man-made environment, structured the latitudinal axis. These two linear forms had major roles in the organisation and orientation of

the spaces. Due to the political dimension of place², the principal route was mainly oriented by the poles of powers within the inner-*shâr* and even continued towards the slope of the *Âwér* Mountains where the second seat of power was located (the mansion and garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ*) along which the *Arg* square, the *Qatâr-chyân bazaarché*, *hammâms*, mosques and many architectural buildings evolved. It also provided access to the *Jumaa* mosque by a thoroughfare leading to the west gate of the inner-*shâr*.

The last public urban element discussed was the *Jumaa* mosque, one of the main public elements of the Islamic city. It was identified as an important element of the City to such an extent that its history defined the life of the city. The historical background showed that the *Jumaa* mosque was moved over time from the area of the bazaar to the inner-*shâr* surrounded by the city wall because of its perceived political dimension. More importantly, the rulers were aware of a constitutional role of *Ulamâ* and *Bazaaris* in social up-rising against any unacceptable decisions; therefore, the *Jumaa* mosque was detached from the city of commoners and the hub of their social life to benefit the ruling class and to enable them to control any social unrest. It was sited close to the west gate of the city where it was far even from the principal route. This made it unique in Islamic and Iranian cities, where the design principles required that it be adjacent to the site of the bazaar or to its continuation in the form of a linear bazaar forming an articulated spatial pattern for its interaction with the main urban elements of the city.

From the points mentioned above about the bazaar complex, the *Jumaa* mosque, the *Qalâ* and *Arg* squares, it can be seen that the principal route was not structured as an articulation spatial element to unify those urban elements, as it was in other Iranian cities. It was made clear that the main reason for such a unique pattern could be ascribed to the political dimension of place-making concerning the geo-political situation of the City within the *Zâgros* mountain range which was the battle line between two great empires, the Persian and the Ottoman.

9.4.3. Case Study the *Qatâr-chyân* Quarter

After the parts dealing with the city as a whole and its constituent elements, the thesis moved on to one of the quarters, the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter, as the case study of the research, mainly to examine the notion of place structure in the Kurdish context. As the main part of the

² As explained, the city was founded as the politico-administrative centre of the *Ardalân* principality as part of the terms of the Iran-Turkey peace treaty of *Zuhâb* contracted in 17 May 1639.

thesis, it comprised three chapters; namely the structuring elements, public and private domains.

9.4.3.1. Structuring Elements

The first part identified the structuring elements of the quarter by examining the process of formation through morphological analysis to draw out the quarter's evolution over the course of time related to various socio-spatial factors. It highlighted the view that the quarter's evolution was, in the main, influenced by the two concepts of point and line. The existing passway to *Âwear* Mountains was intensified in time by the movement of the centre as a single point in space - The *Qalâ* - to the slope of these mountains which created another sign of ruler's presence - the Mansion and garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ* - and attracted other activities. This line, as the continued part of the principal route, also formed the *Qatâr-chyân* linear *Bazaarché*. This means that the creation of the line was mainly bound up with the power relation focused on the *Wâli*. Other social forces were identified in addition to this point. These forces were made up of the roles of two families; first of the *Wakil* family - one of the notable families which was driven out of the inner-*shâr* to the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* - in the orientation of the quarter's development towards the south and creating the second centre of the quarter, a concentrated centre and second the *Galadâri* family - cattlemen and muleteers whose business was connected with the function of the bazaar - who settled in west part of the quarter and acted as a point of gravity alongside other forces. Also important were the presence of *Ulamâs'* houses alongside the principal route and the second place of power on the slope of *Âwear* Mountains which gave direction and managed the quarter's development on this side. The other important structuring element was defined as the principal feature of the terrain, the *Dara-bayân* River, which divided the city into two separated parts, which was conceptualised as the natural longitudinal axis of the city. Apart from its role in defining the quarter of *Qatâr-chyân* as the quarter of muleteers and of opposition to the ruling house, the main effect of this natural feature was characterised as the orientation of the settlements on both sides of the river on the slope of the valley and maintaining the spatial element of *Bar-haiwân* in the structure of the houses. This was conceptualised as a striking feature of the settlements in the *Zâgros* mountain range, "whence a view of the country for miles around can be obtained" (Hay 1921: 83), which was embedded in Kurdish culture and, thus, transferred to the urban settlements of the region.

9.4.3.2. Social Principles – the Public Domain

The second part dealt with the social dimension of place, the public domain, related to Kurdish habits and traditions to conceptualise the Kurds' understanding of their environment.

Within this part, two main public elements were characterised as influencing the social life of Kurdish people: religious elements related to the function of the mosque, and the secular element of the *Mewân-khâna* – a guest house, where guests were entertained - as peculiar to the Kurdish context. The first element was seen as, in a sense, being analogous to other Islamic cities where it acted as a place for the daily gathering for adults and young men within the structure of neighbourhood. This manner of gathering institutionalised regular communication which strengthened the sense of neighbourliness, mutual responsibility and social cohesion among the inhabitants. This, together with the presence of leading *Ulamâ*, led to a substantial degree of internal self-government without recourse to the external regulatory agents.

The second element, the *Mewân-khâna*, was identified as a central institutional element in the evolution and transmission of Kurdish habits and traditions;

Information reaching the community would be discussed in such gatherings, [Mewân-khâna], and to some extent assimilated to the communal culture (Kreyenbroek 1996: 105).

It is a social element which conveys the hospitable character of Kurdish society. Within the selected case study, traces of this element were identified in the character of *Qahvé-khané* where, similar to the *Mewân-khâna*, the adults and young men spent their leisure time drinking tea, talking about the events of the day or listening to the narrative of a storyteller and, thus, the young were taught traditions and etiquette. The importance of this social element, stemming from the concept of the *Mewân-khâna*, was such that two centres of the quarter were predominantly characterised by the presence of the element of *Qahvé-khané* alongside the religious elements of the mosque and the *Hammâm*.

Following the section summarized above which dealt mainly with the men's social realm, the women's social realm was explored, first by examining the notion of privacy in Kurdish culture. The notion of privacy was mitigated by the nature of Kurdish culture which had evolved within the *Zâgros* mountains where the geo-physical setting and the rich colours of the landscape with its long unstable history gave rise to distinctive traditions and habits (Izady 1992) namely a strong sense of neighbourliness and of hospitality. As a result and

unlike other Islamic cities, the tension between the two realms, the strict boundary between the public and private domains, was somewhat reduced so that the women could negotiate the public spaces of the quarter - the thoroughfares and the two centres of the quarter and in particular have contact with their neighbours on their doorsteps either within the public spaces of thoroughfares or the semi-public domain of a *Bunbast* or a *Maindâncché*. The primary relationships occurred within the neighbourhood “where there [was] very little privacy and anonymity” (Rapoport 1977: 297) due to the homogeneity of the inhabitants and strong sense of neighborliness among them. The effects of such attitudes to privacy were considered with respect to the nature of interaction between the two realms so that the indigenous houses were characterised as extroverted structures intimate with the world of the *Kuché* by means of the spatial element of a *Bar-haiwân* and openings overlooking the public domain and even a neighbour’s house, and courtyards which open directly to the *Kuché*. Generally speaking, it means that the notion of the harm from overlooking evident in other Islamic cities was not as strong in the Kurdish context.

The widely held notion concerning the restrictions on women’s presence in the public domain of Islamic city, was examined in the context of the case study quarter and the *Jawr-âwâ* quarter, it was made clear that this notion was more to do with the life of the rich and notables, while the commoners, who comprised the greater part of the urban population, negotiated the public domain because of the nature of their life. Apart from examining the nature of life within the two quarters of the city and some particular notions concerning the status of Kurdish women, further information on the women’s realm was presented by considering five gathering places for women in the selected quarter, the *Hammâm*, cemeteries, shrines and tombs of saints, *Kâni*/springs and *Bar-mâl*/the doorstep. Of the gathering places, it was noted that two of the places – the *Kâni* and the *Bar-mâl* – were somewhat peculiar to the Kurdish context and were the locations of the greatest part of women’s social interaction. Their impacts on the organisation of space were characterised in respect to the gathering places close to the *Kâni* and the route of women’s journey to those places and, more importantly, to the concept of the *Maidâncché* in front of cluster houses which was recognised as an important place for women to gather while their children played freely. Because of the special role of *Bar-mâl* gathering in the social life of Kurdish women the concept is still evident in various parts of the City mostly among commoners, in spite of the many socio-economical and physical changes that happened since the period of modernisation in Iran. Based on the results of the interviews and the physical survey, two

further attitudes were noted regarding the concept of *Bar-mâl*. It was identified as a desirable attitude for commoners due to their strong sense of neighbourliness and social cohesion and the spatial pattern of their settlements. But this was disregarded by wealthy and *Ulama* families due to their status, values and life styles and the spatial pattern of their houses which both created the need for and provided another gathering place the *Sar-tanour* - bakery - within the private realm close to the entrance door.

After the women's social realm, the administrative system of the city was examined as a bridge to approach spatial features of the selected built form. Within this section, four main pillars of the *Ardalân* government were identified in connection with four powerful families who dealt with different socio-economic aspects of that government: the *Wazieri* family in charge of principal financial office of the *Wâli*, the *Woukalâ* family as vice-regents, the *Mawâli*'s family in charge of the judiciary with the status of *Sheikhul-islam* or leader of Islam in the City and countryside and the *Mashâiekh*'s family responsible for *Imam Jumaa* - the prayer leader - of the City. Apart from these pillars and the status of *Dâruqa* and *Kadkhudâ*, the documents did not yield any evidence to make clear any further sub-divisions of those administrative pillars. The status of *Dâruqa* was identified as mostly having to do with the function of the bazaar, and the *Kadkhudâ* with the security of the quarter at night. In the absence of external agents, therefore, the quarter's affairs were regulated by internal cooperation managed by informal agents, namely the *Ulamâ* and the *Rish-séfidân*/elders, in a context of "perceived homogeneity".

9.4.3.3. Spatial Principles

The spatial feature of the quarter was first examined through its street pattern, which comprised a hierarchical system of distributors leading from the principal route the hub of social interaction of the quarter, to the primary *Kuchés*, to the secondary *Kuchés*, and finally to the *Bunbast* or the *Maindâncché*. These two last provided access to the cluster houses where the women's social life was seen as being located. Within this section, the rationality of urban form was proposed to support the view that quality in human settlements lies in the richness of contrasting situations which are offered not in monotonous geometrical forms defined by the so-called orientalist and modernist opinions. From this point, the urban form of the selected quarter was conceptualised as a result of tension between geometric and organic forms which can be defined as binarism in the evolution of the City. This point was discussed in terms of the implementation of line and centre - the course of the principal route

along which the three centres lie; the *Qalâ* with its complementary spatial element of a square, the *Bazaarché* and the mansion and garden complex of *Khusrau-âwâ*, - which entails a tension between the organic embodied in the course of the principal route and the geometric formed by the structure of the two poles of powers (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Oliver 1983).

The last section on spatial features dealt with the experiential qualities of physical space in the circulation system of the quarter with respect to the features of terrain and social organisation of the quarter. The spatial qualities of the *Qatâr-chyân* quarter revealed two important lessons concerning the duality of space rooted in the social structure of the quarter, poor and rich living alongside each other and the characteristics of the terrain, which was conceptualised as the synthetic order from the overlapping of places or the terraced pattern of the settlements.

The duality of space was conceptualised in the existence of two attitudes to privacy among the inhabitants of the quarter which was evident in the different features of the built form beside the public spaces - thoroughfares. The houses of rich and notables families adopted an introverted structure similar to the concept of the courtyard pattern in other Iranian cities. But in the houses of commoners a more extroverted structure was considered to have been borrowed from the indigenous architecture of the settlements in the region. In this type of house, the feature of the *Bar-haiwân* in contrast to its counterpart of the *Eyvân* in other Iranian cities is an important transitional space between the inside and outside world. This means that the spatial element of *Bar-haiwân* here served to keep contact with the natural landscape rather than the courtyard. The visual qualities of the natural landscape were such that even some of the houses of higher status families contained such spatial elements to keep direct contact with the landscape.

The last issue was recognised as the point which led to some distinct characteristics - spatial features and visual qualities – which distinguish *Sanandaj* from other Iranian cities located on the central plateau, where the serial order, a carpet pattern of built form structured so that everything was reduced to surface and line (Norberg-Schulz 1980; Herdeg 1990), is dominant. As explained earlier, flowing from the order of nature and the perceived socio-cultural pattern of Kurdish society, a rather soft boundary was maintained between the inside and outside worlds.

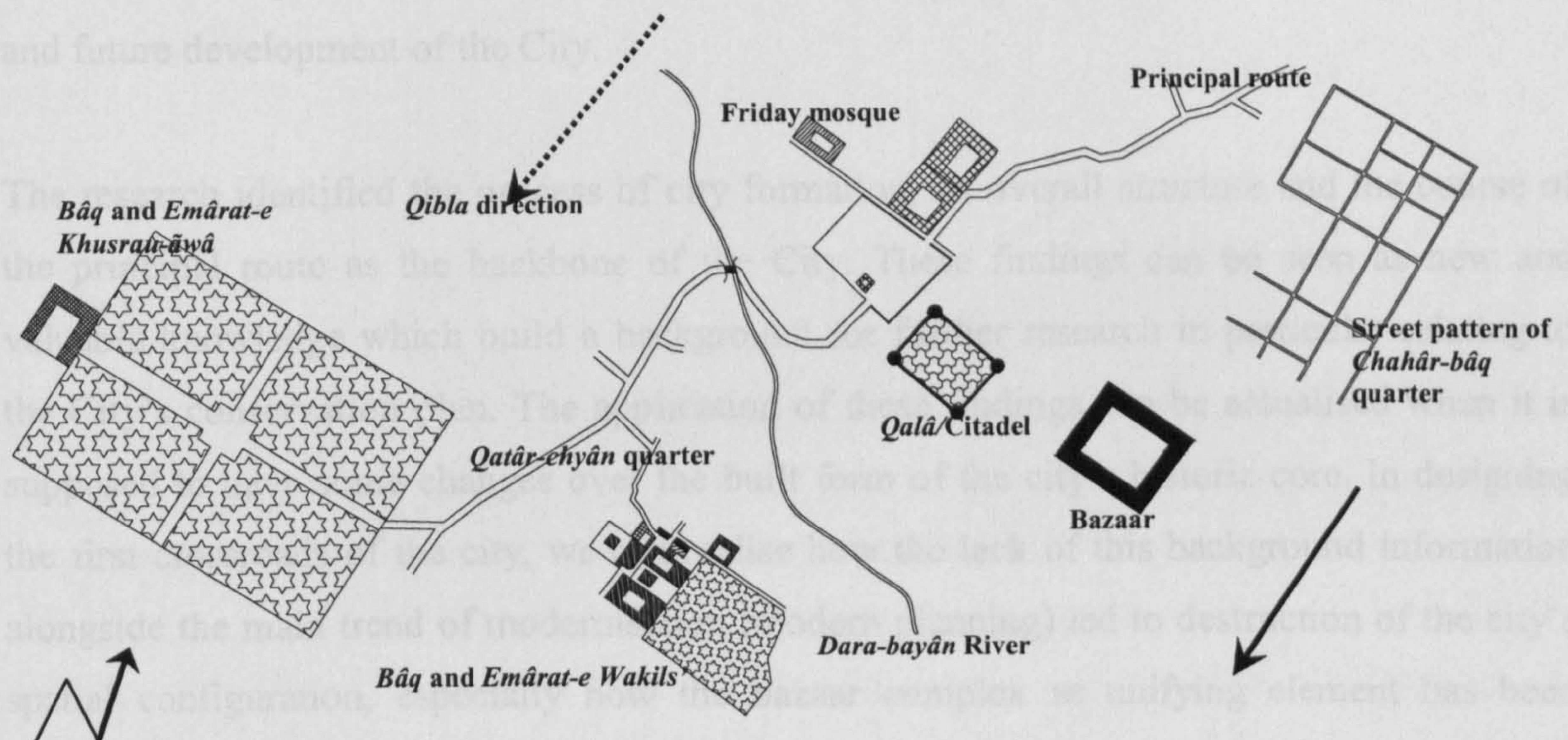
Apart from those features mentioned, the way entrance doors were located showed a particular pattern in which the entrances were exposed to the view of passers by in the quarter's circulation system. This enriched the visual qualities of public thoroughfares particularly the feature of the social structure of the quarter where rich and poor lived side by side each other, which gave differing images of the entry spaces - the last spatial element approaching the private domain - with a diversity of scale and portal decoration.

9.4.3.4. Private Domain

The last part of the case study analysis dealt with the private domain within the cluster houses as the primary setting of family life. Within this section, the analysis focused on the form of connection between two realms of society based on perceived socio-spatial characteristics. Generally speaking, two patterns of connection were identified: those with an introverted spatial structure recognised the life of higher status families and is analogous to the spatial structure of houses in other Iranian cities within the central plateau; and those with a perceived extroverted structure characterised in the life of commoners which in turn defines the indigenous architecture of the region. The first group of houses was usually typified by a large entry space beside the public thoroughfare referred to as the *Nema-hashti*. This is a transitional spatial element between two realms linking to the *Haush*/courtyard, the hub of social life in such houses and acts as collector and distributor to the other parts of the house, through a complicated hierarchy of spatial elements involving a second stopping point (*Hashti*) and blind corridor. In contrast, the second group was characterised by the simplest form of connection to the outside world so that the *Haush* directly linked to the *Kuché* which eased communications between neighbours. This was explained in terms of the nature of Kurdish society in general with its strong sense of neighbourliness, professional affiliation among the inhabitants of the selected quarter in particular and the availability of the spatial structures of the *Bunbast* and the *Maindâncché* promoting easy contact between neighbours all which facilitated the form of connection described.

The last point, relating to both the City in general and the selected quarter in particular, concerns the notion of orientation. As identified earlier, the major characteristic of the site - its general slope - influenced the main orientation of the city towards the east with some minor deviation. This offered the people an acceptable guide to *Qibla* (the direction of

Mecca) and the possibility of placing the main parts of the house in the northern or western parts of the courtyard, opposite the sun's direction during the harsh weather of winter. This is more obvious from the aerial photograph (1957), especially from the houses of the ruling class, insomuch as the direction of the houses can be explained in terms of the direction of the *Jumaa* mosque (figure 8.1, Aerial photograph). As explained this direction was also observed in the main elements of the city (*Jumaa* mosque, *Qalâ*, Bazaar, the ensemble of gardens and mansion of *Khusrau-âwâ* and the *Wakil* family's mansion), and even in the quarter of *Chahâr- bâq* where the rectangular form of its streets imply a strong correlation with the direction of the *Jumaa* Mosque (figure 9.1). Note though, that most of these features were built before the erection of the *Jumaa* Mosque.



9. 1. The coordination between the orientation of the City's main features and the direction of the *Jumaa* mosque (Source: aerial photograph: *Sazman-e Naghshebardary Kishvar* 1957)

The aerial photo of the quarter of the ruling class and the two islands of cluster houses in the selected quarter show the orientation of the courtyards in houses of both the ruling class (aerial photo) and the commoners which implies a major concordance with the main direction of the *Jumaa*/Friday Mosque (M), the bottom drawing indicates the concordance between the main features of the city and the direction of the *Qibla*

For this orientation two possible interpretations can be proposed. First, it can be ascribed to the general direction of the City's site which gave such close correspondence to the sacred direction of the *Qibla* and the maximizing of seasonal advantage, especially maximizing the use of the natural energy of the sun during the harsh winter weather. This can be recognised as the preferred idea in line with the view of Bonine (1979) concerning the role of natural features in the form and orientation of Iranian cities. The second interpretation is the possible

link between the sacred direction of the *Qibla* and the building of the city's main elements. To prove this point, further investigation similar to the work of Bonine (1990)³, especially a quantitative survey of the houses needs to be undertaken to establish to what extent the sacred direction of the *Qibla* had a major role in orientation of the City in general and of the houses in particular.

9.6. Recommendations

Emphasising the values embodied in traditional cities does not automatically imply rejecting evolutionary forms of changes, nor does it mean that all traditional structures should be conserved at any cost. But it does suggest that certain essential structuring principles can be revived, adapted, and perpetuated to the advantage of contemporary societies (Bianca 2000: 330).

The research suggests some important recommendations that could be useful for the present and future development of the City.

The research identified the process of city formation, its overall structure and the course of the principal route as the backbone of the City. These findings can be seen as new and valuable knowledge which build a background for further research in particular relating to the City's conservation plan. The application of these findings can be actualised when it is supposed to have some changes over the built form of the city's historic core. In designing the first crossroads of the city, we can realise how the lack of this background information alongside the main trend of modernisation (modern planning) led to destruction of the city's spatial configuration, especially how the bazaar complex as unifying element has been seriously damaged (figure 9.2).

In the respect to the structuring elements of the quarter and the principal route, some principles were identified in relation to the concept of centre rooted in the notion of line and point. Where a number of socio-spatial factors were involved, the concept of centre emerged in a linear form and where it was bound up with only one factor, the centre took a concentrated form. These principles can be recognised as indigenous rules embedded in the structure of the traditional core which can help designers to structure the centre of new urban areas. For example, if the designers intend to create a linear centre, it will be a logical notion to think about a number of socio-spatial factors alongside the course as poles of attraction to

³ In this research, he found the mosque acted as a possible influence in the orientation of the Iranian cities, especially in the cities after the rise of Islam, where the mosque has priority over other construction.

direct the linear centre. The starting and ending points of the linear centre need to be structured based on the concept of a concentrated centre with two main poles of power in opposition to each other and the course of the line between can be influenced by other minor socio-spatial factors⁴. Or to transform an existing concentrated centre to a linear one, the point is to organise another concentrated centre in opposition to it thus creating another pole of attraction bound up with a strong socio-spatial factor, hence motivating the course of the line by the existence of a number of socio-spatial factors.



Figure 9. 2. First crossroads of the city which was tailored on the physical fabric of the city due to the trend of modernism and lack of socio-spatial knowledge, source: *Sâzmân-e Naghshe-Bardâry* 1957

The next most important point is in regard to the concept of mound cities conceptualised as the Kurdish style of urban planning and the fact that, as the research has shown, Kurdish culture has strong responsiveness to the Genius Loci, to the setting of the City as a whole and to the dwellings in a particular relationship to the landscape. This concept can be recognised as a symbolic value of Kurdish culture inherited from pre-Islamic times which can work as a counterpart of the mountain in the macro-scale. From this point, it is the responsibility of urban designers to reconcile that concept with the contemporary urban architecture of the City. New developments of the City in the low-lands can take advantage of this concept where possible by putting the symbolic elements on the high points. Or in laying out new suburbs, any changes of topography should capture the relationship perceived with the landscape. This means putting more emphasis on terraced houses with the spatial element of

⁴ Apart from the the principal route identified in the thesis, one of the example of such point is the linear form of the bazaar in the city of Isfahân. It was motivated by two main poles of powers in oposition to each other; Friday mosque and royal palaces (Maydân-e Imam).

Bar-haiwân as an easy way to deal with the settlements' setting and, more importantly, in line with the values perceived in Kurdish culture. Here the value of landscape is such that the designer does not need to simulate the landscape in the courtyard. The value of landscape, in itself, invites the designer to work with not against the topography. This means structuring the form of terraced houses to enable the dwellings to be opened up to nature and the public domain by use of the element of a *Bar-haiwân*. This principle is also in line with a main notion of urban design which regards the ecological significance of place as vital for preserving the natural environment. More importantly, the value of *the Bar-haiwân* concept as a Buffer zone between private and public domains enables the residents not to have to restore to covering their windows, which in turn increases the residents' ability to be in contact with the public domain and encourages social activities.

In the new suburbs of the City, there are a few examples that are to some extent consistent with the symbolic value of Kurdish culture above; for example the proposed plan of the *Azâd* University Housing Cooperative (Figure 9.2) on the slope of a hill overlooking the *Gheshlâgh* River to the southeast. In this plan, the designer worked with the topography to capture the relationship with landscape, using the form of terraced houses and the possibility of creating the spatial element of *Bar-haiwân* in the houses to keep in touch with the landscape. The main public elements, especially the symbolic element of the mosque, are sited on the top of the hill which acts as a centre of gravity for the settlements on the slope and as a point of reference for the surrounding area. In contrast to this, there are many examples in the suburbs of the City, Qaradiân and Saadi districts, in the south within which these principles were ignored and the heights were levelled off for housing and the main elements structured on the low lands.

The manner of locating gateways in the circulation system of the selected quarter makes it possible to point out another lesson for contemporary urban architecture. The sceno-graphic approach to the street pattern, which exposed different forms of gateway to the passer by in the circulation system of the quarter, can be imposed as a rule for neighbourhood design in order to enhance the visual qualities. Derived from this method, one principle would be to work with gateways location along the circulation system of the settlement, especially where the low-lands are targeted for the expansion of the city and the view of landscape is limited because of the setting. From this point, the designers would have to avoid long straight roads to enable the plan to create more opportunities for a variety of images of doorways to be

presented to the view of passers by, thus, enhancing the experiential qualities of space. Alongside this structuring principle another principle needs to be in force requiring the doorways of those plots facing the view of passers by to be built opposite the direction of the road's axis.

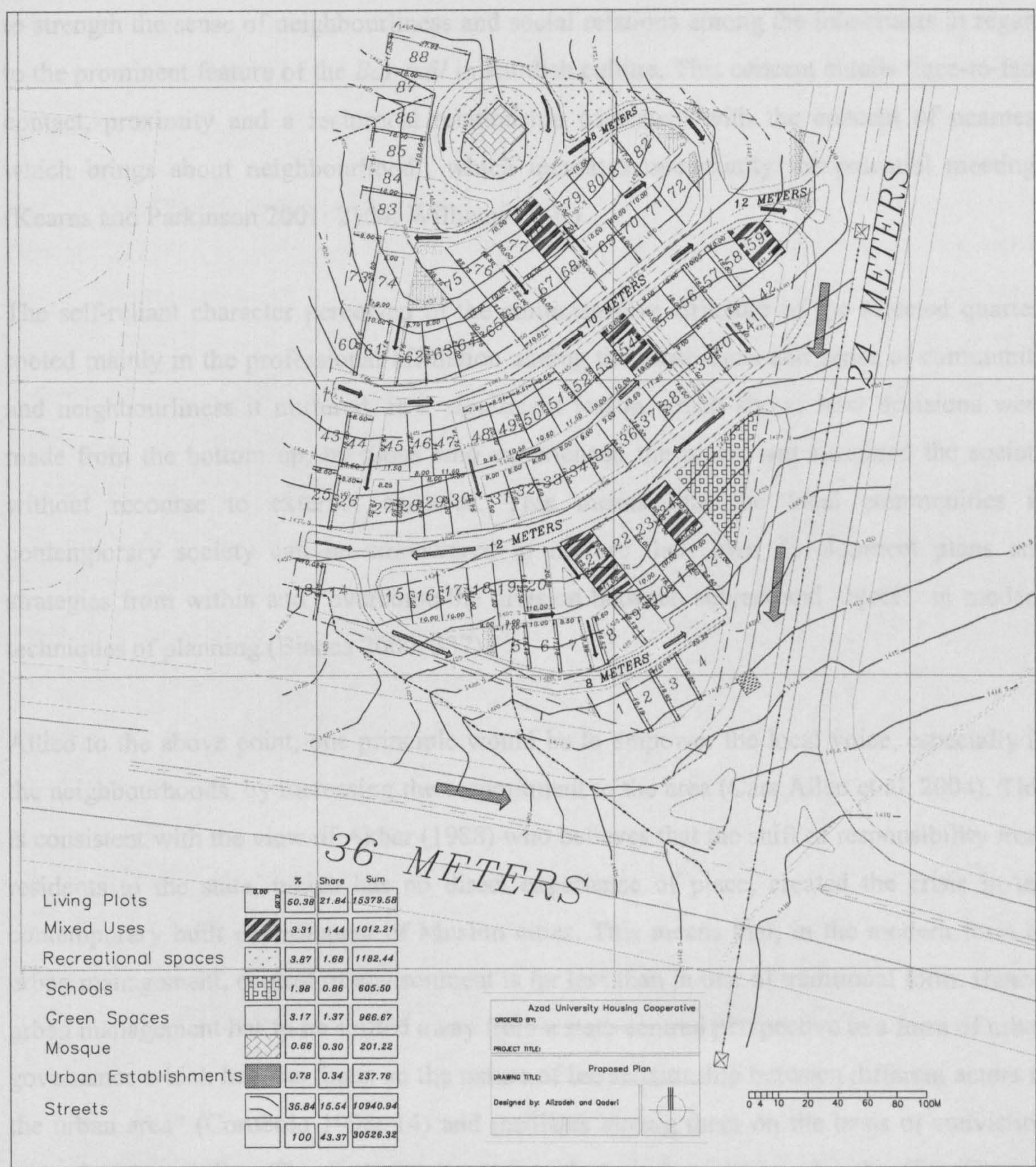


Figure 9. 3. The proposed and approved plan of Azad University Housing Cooperative

Sources: Kurdistan housing and urban planning organisation, topography by Mr. Naqshbandi and Plan by author and Mr Qaderi 2001

In line with the principle above, the concept of the *Maidâncé*, as a buffer zone between private and public domains (Abu-Ghazze 1994), within the cluster houses can be recognised as another structuring principle which, on the one hand, can help to enhance the experiential qualities of space in the circulation system of the quarter and, on the other hand, to strength the sense of neighbourliness and social relations among the inhabitants in regard to the prominent feature of the *Bar-mâl* in Kurdish culture. This concept entails ‘face-to-face contact, proximity and a reciprocal relationship consistent with the concept of nearness which brings about neighbourhood’, which increases opportunity for potential meetings (Kearns and Parkinson 2001: 2104; Williams 2005).

The self-reliant character perceived in the administrative structure of the selected quarter, rooted mainly in the professional affiliation among the inhabitants and sense of community and neighbourliness it nurtured, is a significant lesson which shows how decisions were made from the bottom up, by those who experienced the place, and sustained the society without recourse to external agencies. This means that the local communities in contemporary society can be empowered to nurture their own development plans and strategies from within and “overcome the division between subject and object” in modern techniques of planning (Bianca 2000: 337).

Allied to the above point, one principle would be to empower the local voice, especially in the neighbourhoods, by increasing the commitment to the area (Cars Allen et al. 2004). This is consistent with the view of Akbar (1988) who believes that the shift of responsibility from residents to the state, which has no direct experience of place, created the crisis in the contemporary built environment of Muslim cities. This means that, in the modern form of urban management, control of environment is far less than in that of traditional form. Hence, urban management has to be shifted away from a state-centred perspective to a form of urban governance which has “its focus on the nature of the relationship between different actors in the urban area” (Corubolo 1998: 14) and mediates among them on the basis of conviction and of responsibility. The first step toward such a shift was taken by the City Council election in 1999. In spite of the empowering the role of this newly adopted trend in urban management, the next step can be defined as the quarters/neighbourhoods envisaging a concept of neighbourhood governance which facilitates an organic link between the City Council, representing the City as a whole, and the residents who directly experience the place and closer to both problem and the solution (Lane and McDonald 2005: 710). This

implies the creation of another layer of representation or interface within urban management which can be achieved by selecting a number of active individuals from the quarters as this seems both to enhance the voice from inside and to encourage a sense of responsibility to the environment. If this were to happen, the quarters would have a real opportunity to articulate their views about what matters to them about their place and, thus, the decisions and proposals could address local issues and priorities and “enable sensitivity and deployment of indigenous (or local) knowledge in planning”/design (Lane and McDonald 2005: 710).

9.7. Further research

This study opens up further avenues for both theoretical and empirical studies. It prompts further research within the scope of Kurdish cities, which can be recognised as disregarded by most of the literature on Middle Eastern cities. The main avenue requires further research in different parts of Kurdistan to establish a better knowledge of Kurdish cities. Within this wider context, comparative studies can highlight similarities and differences leading to the conceptualising of the common, underlying shaping principles of a Kurdish city. Equally, the concept of mound-cities as the basic style of urban planning in the Kurdish context needs research in general, especially through archaeological studies, to uncover more information about their structure in different parts of Kurdistan. In line with this, the four castellated cities of the region will be another important avenue in particular to investigate their organisation in the region and their physical structure which survived for more than four centuries.

As stated within the discussion of the case study, the orientation of the City, which was reflected in the main urban elements of the City, needs further research to explore whether this apparent characteristic of the City is a result of an accident or whether there is some connection with the sacred direction of *Qibla* and other sacred natural elements within the City’s geo-physical setting.

Although, the attitude to privacy in Kurdish culture was considered in some detail and with a substantial body of evidence, it is an important issue, especially concerning the future development of housing projects in the City, which requires further attention, detailed investigation and comparative studies to draw out relevant design guidelines for new neighbourhood design.

The concept of *Mewân-khâna*, as the basis of Kurdish culture, is another area of the research. This requires further investigation in rural settlements to conceptualise its evolution in Kurdish culture and, more importantly, its diffusion to urban settlements, and, further, its connection with the function of the *Qahvé-khané* or other elements within the spatial structure of the neighbourhood or houses, needs particular attention.

The last area of the research can be focused on the transformation of the City. Keeping the results of this thesis in mind, analysing the City's transformation will make clear to what extent the design principles of the traditional core have been used or transferred to newly developed areas.

9.8. Conclusion Remark

The book has ended but the story is ongoing

It is impossible to reveal one's enthusiasm in a hundred books⁵.

Although the theme of this thesis ended with Further Research section in the concluding Chapter, based on the above words of Sa'di Shirazi it is still only a first step but hopefully an opened window into further research concerning the selected context. The diversity of further research identified in this chapter speaks not to weaknesses of the thesis, but to its richness as an ongoing research theme that has many possible avenues of investigation. It is also hoped that the principles identified will reveal a broader picture of the cultural background for designers to mitigate the tension between tradition and modernity by creating a link to the context in each new development plan as the city develops and prospers.

⁵ Sheikh Muslih-uddin Sa'di Shirazi: world famous Iranian 13th century poet

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Appendices

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List of Interviewees

The following is a list of interviewees participated in the oral knowledge of the research in *Sanandaj* in 2003 and 2004

	Name	Age	Status	The date, time and place of interview
1	Amir Arsalan Asaf	74	Asafs' family, the first pillar of <i>Ardalân</i> government, who were in charge of principal financial office of the <i>Wâli</i>	11.07.2003, 10am Asaf's house which now serves as the <i>Sanandaj</i> museum
2	Mahyadeen Haghshenas	80	Local historian and narrator of city's past life, especially the quarter of <i>Qatâr-chyân</i>	20.07.2003, 3pm His house, Sanandaj
3	Jamal Ahmadi	35	Local historian	23.07.2003, 11am His office 29.07.2003, 10pm His house
4	Kazem Danaei	90	Member of Kurdistan Cultural Heritage Community	23.07.2003, 3pm His house in the quarter of Bazaar
5	Khalil Yusifzamani	60	Teacher	27.07.2003, 5pm His house
6	Bahrami	45	Employee and expert of Kurdistan Cultural Heritage Organisation	28.07.2003, 10am His office 31.07.2003, 11am His office
7	Ostad Rashid Azhir	90	Master builder, who was working in Ground floor of old building of municipality for its renovation	06.09.2003, 12am Municipality building
8	Sirus Marufi	70	Local historian and expert of Kurdistan Cultural Heritage Organisation, who was retired as head of this Organisation	27.08.2003, 4pm His house 29.08.2003, 5pm His house 07.09.2003, 11am Cultural Heritage Organisation building 22.10.2004 Telephone interview
9	Mansuri	65	Local historian	30.08.2003, 7pm His office
10	Yahia Mazhri	65	Teacher and one of the local historians	19.08.2003, 7pm One of the mosque in the quarter of Bazaar 31.08.2003, 8pm As above
11	Abass Aminulislam	73	Representative of <i>Mawâli</i> 's family (second pillar of <i>Ardalân</i> government), who were in charge of judiciary with the status of <i>sheikhul-islam</i> (leader of Islam) in the city and countryside.	05.09.2003, 6pm His house in the quarter of <i>Qatâr-chyân</i>

12	Sadeegh Munaghi	60	Craftsman (cobbler), especially in the past life of the city, now photographer and resident of <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter	24.08.2003, 7pm His office close to the site of bazaar 26.08.2004, 9am Across the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
13	Hooshang Ardelan	78	<i>Ardalans'</i> family, who still act as <i>Khân</i> in one the villages	06.09.2003, 6pm His house close to the site of the bazaar
14	Mohammad Sharif Merzaei	65	<i>Bazaaris</i> (who work in bazaar) and a resident of <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter	12.08.2004, 11am His chamber in the bazaar
15	Galadâri	60	<i>Galadâris'</i> family who managed the transportation affairs of the city by mules	11.08.2004, 9pm His house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
16	Mojtahedi	82	One of the leading <i>Ulamâ</i>	23.08.2004, 9am His house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
17	Ageli	89	<i>Bazaaris</i>	21.08.2004, 11am His chamber
18	Abdulhamid Hairatsajâdi	75	Local historian, his father was recognised as the founder of education system in the city of <i>sanandaj</i> . As one of the notable, his house was close to the quarter of ruling class.	29.07.2004, 3pm His house
19	Hassan Amini	70	One of the leading <i>Ulamâ</i>	02.09.2004, 10am His house in the quarter of Jawrâwâ
20	Abdul-qafâr Warastegân	85	Narrator of city's past life	03.09.2004, 3pm His house close to the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
21	Bâqer-khân Wakil	75	<i>Wakils'</i> family, the second pillar of Ardalân government	09.09.2004, 4pm His house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
22	Khalil Shahlâ	85	<i>Bazaaris</i>	14.09.2004, 4pm His house
23	<i>Sheikh Ebrâhim</i>	86	Famous traditional orthopaedist of the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter	17.09.2004, 3pm His house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
24	Hâji Mohammad Amin	85	Tailor	10.07.2003, 10am His shop on the Imam street
25	Aqdas Droudgar	70	<i>Galadâris'</i> family who managed the transportation affairs of the city by mules	11.08.2004, 9pm Her house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
26	Saadea Gkafari	59	<i>Galadâris'</i> family who managed the transportation affairs of the city by mules	11.08.2004, 9pm Her house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
27	Aziza Sadeq-vazeri	80	From noble family	13.08.2004, 9.30pm Her house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter abutted the <i>Dara-bayân</i> river

28	Khurshid-laqa Abubakri	85	From <i>Galadâris</i> ' family who managed the transportation affairs of the city by mules	15.08.2004, 9pm Her house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
29	Zamana Galadâri	83	From <i>Galadâris</i> ' family who managed the transportation affairs of the city by mules	10.09.2004, 5pm Her house in the <i>Qatâr-chyân</i> quarter
30	Rangavary	90	Master builder, Who was interviewed by a group whose names appeared in this list (Marufi, Haghshenas and Munaghi)	1999 ¹ His house

¹ This person was interviewed in 1999. At the time of this research, which its fieldwork was carried out in 2003 and 2004, he was unable to be reinterviewed. For this reason, I just used his earlier tape-recorded interview.